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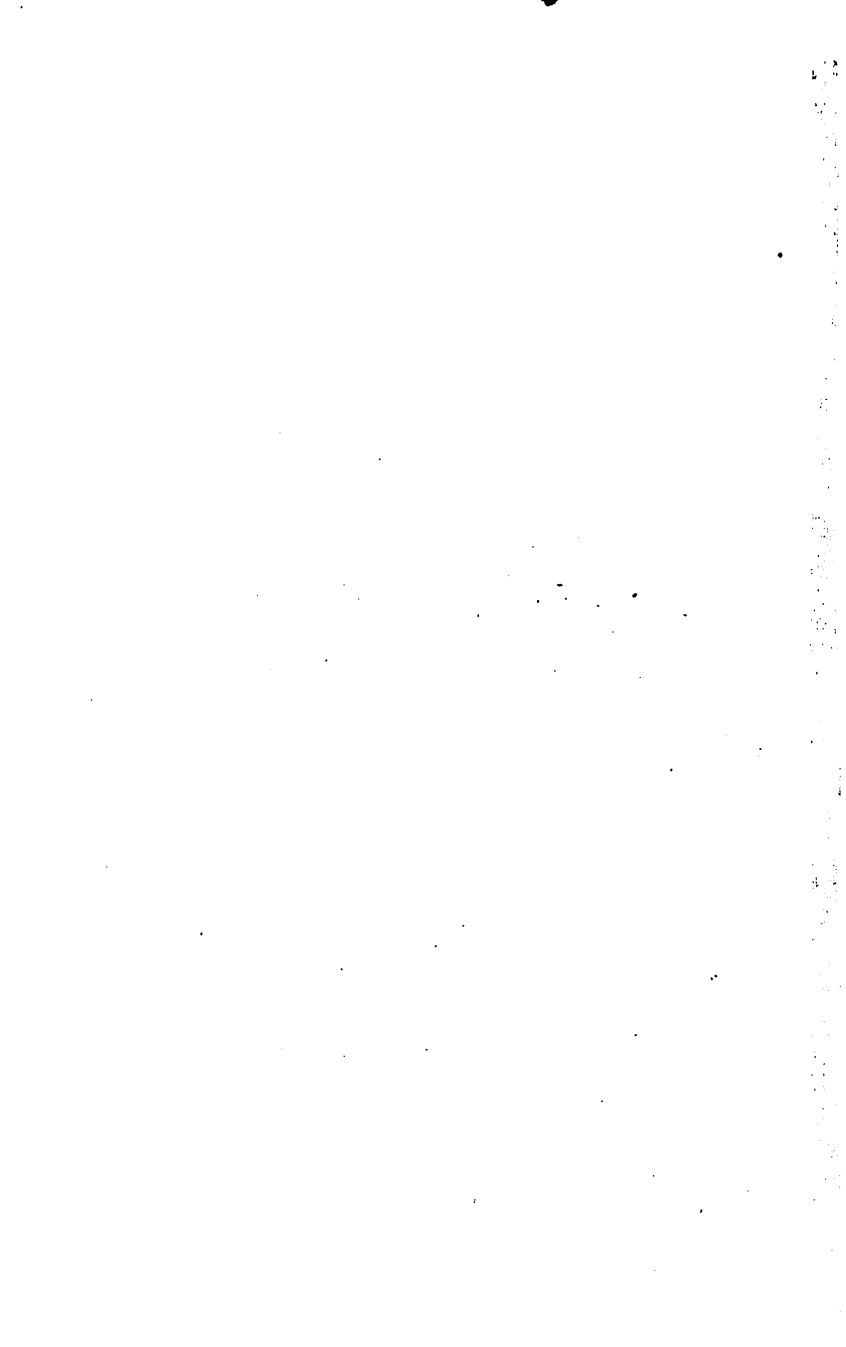
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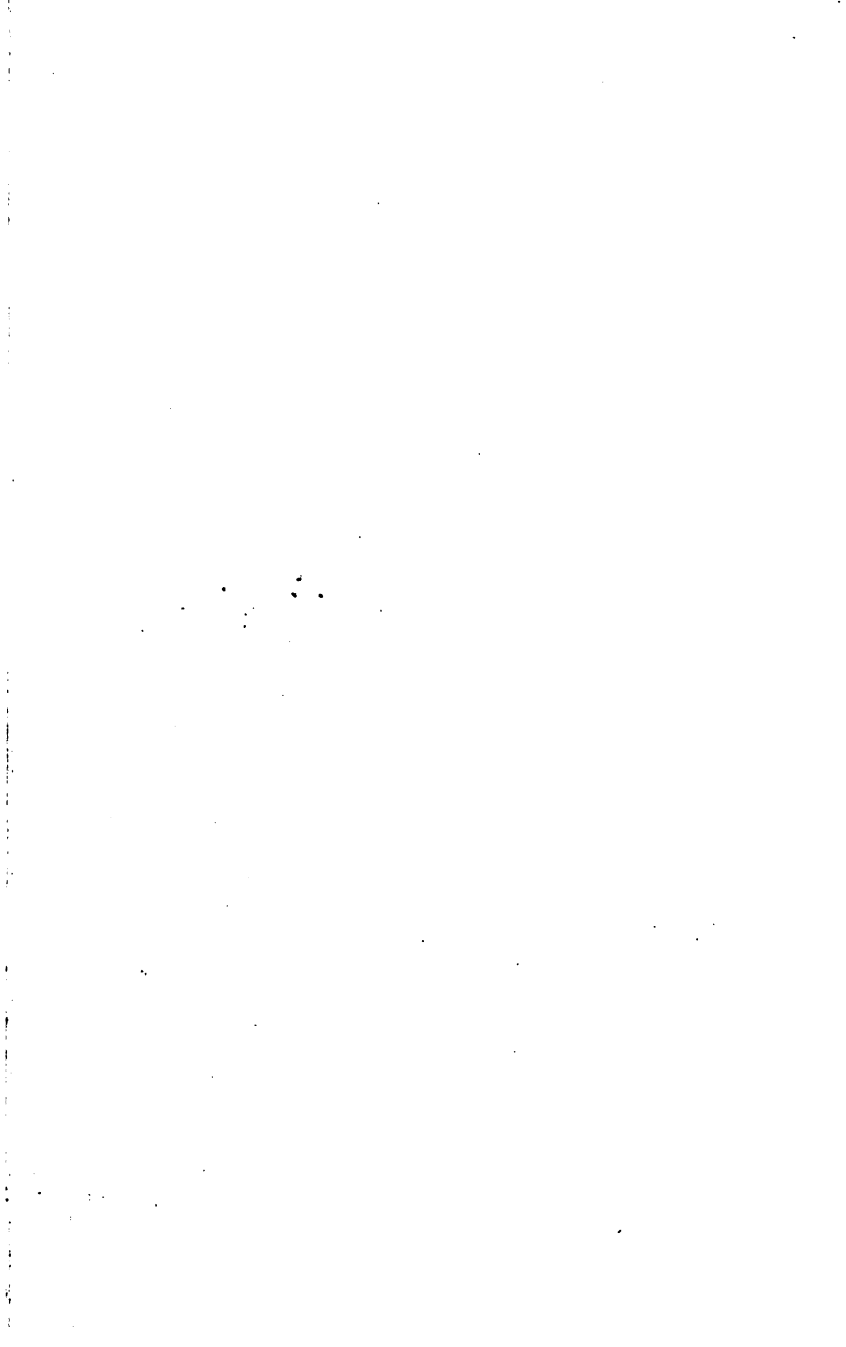
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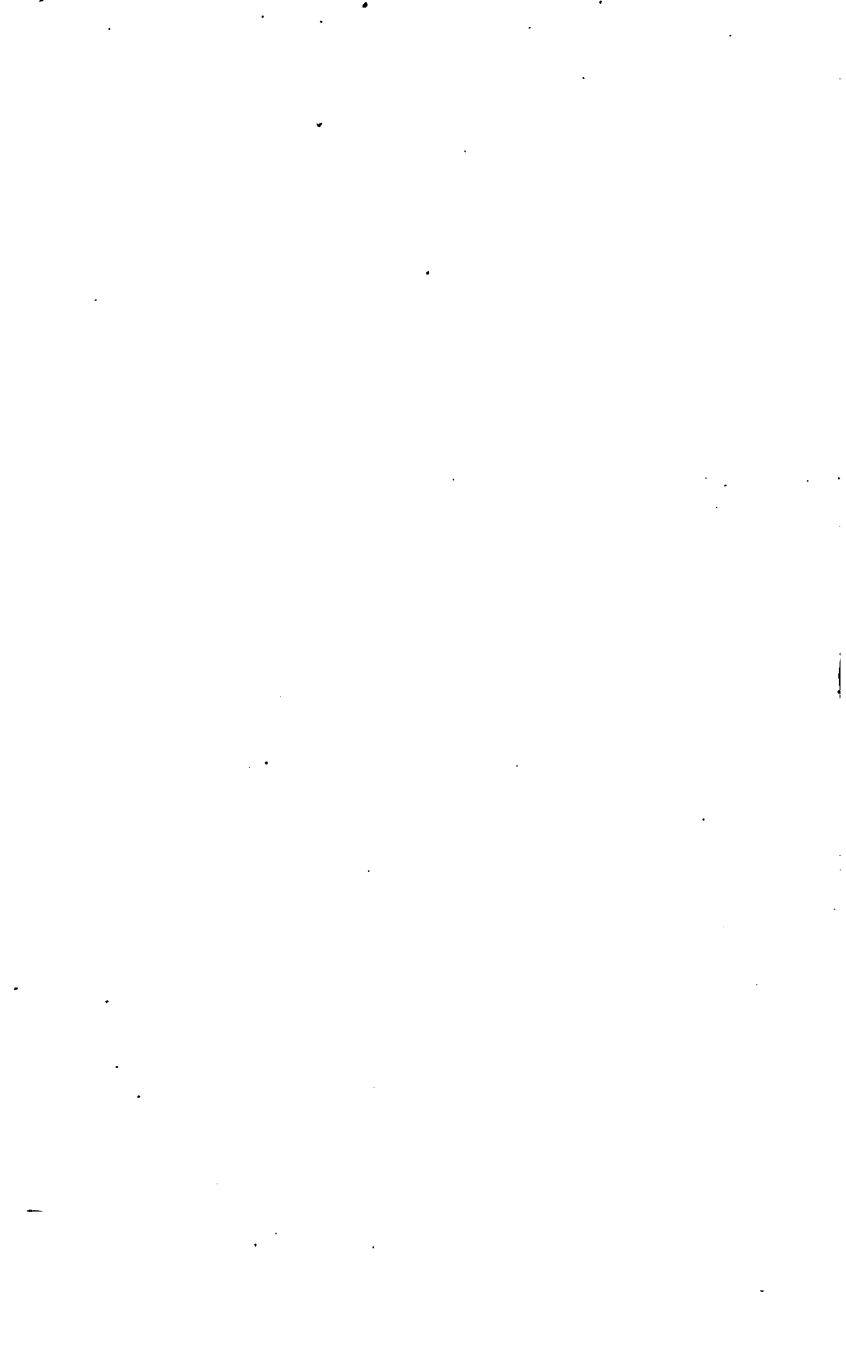




AN
(Knox, J.)
Guthrie







AN
(Book I)
E.A.



JOHN KNOX AND HIS HOUSE



1990



1. John Knox in Sir David Wilkie's unfinished sketch of 'Knox dispensing the Sacrament at Calder House, 1556.'

JOHN KNOX AND JOHN KNOX'S HOUSE

BY
CHARLES JOHN GUTHRIE, K.C.

F.S.A.Scot.

EDITOR OF THE POPULAR EDITION OF JOHN KNOX'S
'HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND'



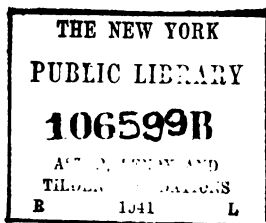
SIXTH THOUSAND

WITH NINETY ILLUSTRATIONS

EDINBURGH AND LONDON
OLIPHANT ANDERSON AND FERRIER

1905

R. I. P.



'It is impossible to traverse the ruined apartments of this ancient mansion without feelings of deep and unwonted interest. To the admirers of the intrepid Reformer, it awakens thoughts not only of himself but of the work which he so effectually promoted; to all, it is interesting as intimately associated with memorable events in Scottish history. There have assembled the Earls of Murray, Morton, and Glencairn; Lords Boyd, Lindsay, Ruthven, and Ochiltree, and many others, agents of the Court as well as its most resolute opponents. Within the faded and crumbling hall, councils have been held that exercised a lasting influence on the national destinies.'—Prof. Sir DANIEL WILSON, LL.D., in 'Memorials of Edinburgh,' vol. ii. page 258.

'Knox alone, of all the animated groups who withstood or who followed him, has left us not only a number of books which disclose his mind with all its powers and imperfections, but the very dwelling in which he passed at least the latter part of his life, intact and authentic, a memorial more striking and attractive than any "storied urn or animated bust."'
—Mrs. OLIPHANT in 'Royal Edinburgh,' page 239.

PREFATORY NOTE TO SECOND EDITION

IN this handbook to John Knox's House, I have, as my title indicates, dealt with the illustrious occupant of the house as well as with the house itself. The book contains facts about the life of John Knox, and passages from his writings, and testimonies from his contemporaries, which may give to some readers a juster view of Knox's character as a man and of his work as a Reformer.

John Knox's prophetic words have in one sense come true: 'What I have been to my country, although this unthankful age will not know, yet ages to come will be compelled to bear witness to the truth.'

His services to civil and religious freedom, and to education, are now universally recognised. Yet his opinions and his personality are still misapprehended and misrepresented both by friends and foes. His opinions are canvassed without allowance for the circumstances of the time in which he wrote and spoke; and, instead of being drawn from his writings and those of his contemporaries, they are often unwarrantably inferred from the events of

later Scottish history and from the form of modern Scottish Presbyterianism, a form due rather to his successors, Andrew Melville and Alexander Henderson, than to Knox. His personality, again, is deduced from the part he played for his Country and his Faith, standing up almost alone against the most powerful, the most beautiful, and the ablest woman in Europe—Knox fighting for Scotland and Protestantism, Mary championing France and Popery As Professor Stuart Blackie wrote :—

‘ We reap in ease what they did sow in toil,
And rate them harsh, and sour, and stern the while ! ’

Because he had a stern part to play, and played it appropriately and with success, it is inferred, with strange ignorance of human nature, that, as a man, Knox must have been stern, unbending, even cruel. The extracts in this volume prove that he was not so considered by his contemporaries and intimates—by the Bishop of Ossory, for instance, who called him ‘ my most affectionate brother.’ His own allusions to his wife and children do not suggest severity. He told Queen Mary he could scarce abide to see his children’s tears ; and, in his Will, leaving messages of tender farewell to his sons, he speaks of Marjorie Bowes, his first wife, as ‘ their dearest mother, my late dearest spouse, of blessed memory.’ The following pages contain the English Ambassador’s description of a supper-party in Knox’s house, with its echoes of the humour he

loved and the story-telling in which he excelled; and James Melville will be cited as an eye-witness of the Reformer's attendance at a dramatic representation given by the students of St. Andrews.

Unfortunately, Knox's admirers have sometimes striven, with misplaced zeal, to conceal Knox's gentler, more genial aspect as a devoted husband, a loving father, a kind master, a genial host, a warm friend, and a humane enemy. Knox himself said, 'Melancholious reasons would have some mirth intermixed.' Thomas Carlyle puts it, 'Knox has a vein of drollery in him which I like much, in combination with his other qualities. He has a true eye for the ludicrous. His *History* is curiously enlivened with this. A true, loving, illuminating laugh mounts up over his earnest visage. He was a cheery, social man, with faces that loved him.' And W. E. Henley, the poet and critic, no sympathiser with Knox's religious views, thought that 'the Reformer had a vast deal more in common with Robert Burns than with the "sour John Knox" of Robert Browning's ridiculous verses. He was a humorist; he abounded in humanity and intelligence; he was as well-beloved as he was extremely hated and feared.'

Those who are familiar with the story of Knox's life as told by Dr. M'Crie in 1811, and by Dr. Hume Brown in 1895, and with Dr. Laing's edition of Knox's works, in six volumes, will find nothing new in this book, except, possibly, some of the illustrations. But, for others, it may

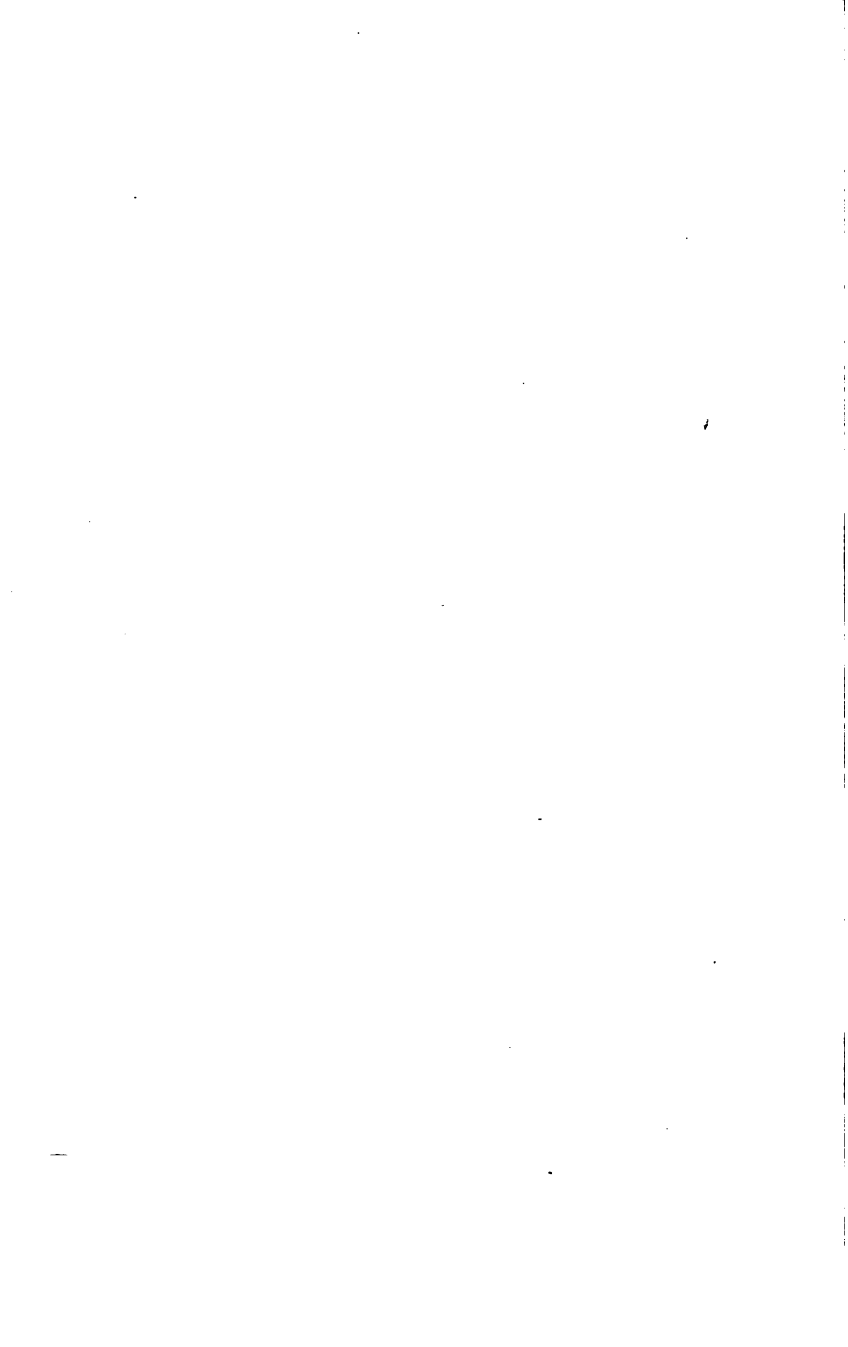
help to explain how Mr. Froude, the historian, himself neither a Scotsman nor a Presbyterian, came to say: 'John Knox was the person who, above all others, baffled the French conspiracy, and saved Queen Elizabeth and the Reformation. . . . Good reason has Scotland to be proud of Knox! He only in the wild crisis saved the Kirk which he had founded, and saved with it Scottish and English freedom.'

CHARLES J. GUTHRIE.

13 ROYAL CIRCUS,
EDINBURGH, 1905.

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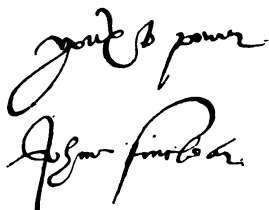
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I

CHIEF EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF THE OCCUPANT OF THIS HOUSE

1505. Born in or near Haddington, in East Lothian, seventeen miles from Edinburgh. His father, William Knox, was a vassal of the Earls of Bothwell. His mother was a Sinclair; and he, in times of peril, assumed her name. Thus:—



3. Yours to power, Johne Sinclear.¹

‘ John Knox descended but of lineage small,
As commonly God uses for to call
The simple sort His summons to express ;
So, calling him, He gave him gifts withal
Most excellent, besides his uprightness.’

JOHN DAVIDSON, Regent in St. Leonard's College,
St. Andrews, 1573. (See page 74.)

¹ Even Mr. Froude was misled by this signature, and attributed to the ‘ Master of Sinclair ’ one of Knox's letters to Sir James Crofts, the English Ambassador, signed *John Sinclair* !

1522. Began his studies for the priesthood under the great schoolman and liberal teacher John Major, in the University of Glasgow, where he probably took the degree of Bachelor of Arts.




4. Haddington Church (the 'Lamp of Lothian') and Giffordgate, 1693. (See pages 1, 114.)

1530. Took Priest's Orders about this time.

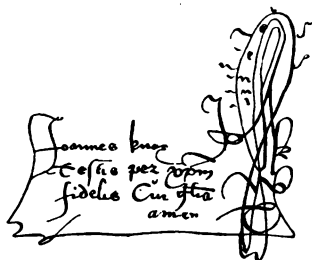
1530 } Employed partly in the work of a Priest, and partly
to } as Tutor in the families of Douglas of Longniddry,
1546. } and Cockburn of Ormiston, proprietors holding
Reformed opinions. In a document (printed in
reduced facsimile on the opposite page) dated
27 March 1543, he described himself as 'Joannes
Knox, Sacri Altaris minister, Sanctiandreae dio-
ceseos, auctoritate Apostolica notarius'—(*i.e.* 'John
Knox, minister of the Sacred Altar, of the Diocese




 Ego Nro Pater Datus illius noster Dandus dices admi-
 Ede apostolica nro Dna premissis omibus et singulis in se sit presentis,
 Dns d'geceha d'cecha et p'ntal una cum p'curatoris p'p'us p'p'ualiter
 Interfui et q' omnia et singula sic fieri et d'cecha fieri et d'cecha fieri et d'cecha
 Ego p'p'us hoc p'p'us p'p'ualiter Interfui et q' omnia et singula sic fieri et d'cecha
 Confer et hanc in p'p'us p'p'ualiter Interfui et q' omnia et singula sic fieri et d'cecha
 in p'p'us et d'cecha p'p'ualiter Interfui et q' omnia et singula sic fieri et d'cecha
 Non fallimur p'p'ualiter
 Interfui et q' omnia et singula sic fieri et d'cecha

5. Deed executed by John Knox as a Papal Notary in 1543, acting under the authority of Cardinal Beaton.
 Knox was then thirty-eight years of age. (See page 2.)

of St. Andrews, notary by Papal authority.') The following is a facsimile of the notarial attestation appended by him to this deed :—



6. 'Joannes Knox, testis per Christum fidelis, Cui gloria, Amen' ('John Knox, a faithful witness through Christ, to whom be glory, Amen').

1545-6. Attached himself, at the age of 40, as an avowed adherent of the Reformed Faith, to George



7. George Wishart. Burned 1546.

'Comely of personage, courteous, lowly, glad to teach, desirous to learn, fearing God, hating covetousness.'—*Emery Tylney, one of Wishart's scholars at Cambridge.*

Wishart, his spiritual father. Wishart suffered martyrdom at St. Andrews on 1st March 1546. Knox always refers to Wishart in terms of affection and reverence.

1546 May. Murder of Cardinal Beaton.

1547 April. Took refuge with his pupils in Castle of St. Andrews from persecution by Archbishop Hamilton, Cardinal Beaton's successor.



8. Castle of St. Andrews.

1547 May. Reluctantly obeyed public call, addressed to him in the Parish Church of St. Andrews by Friar John Rough, to preach the Reformed doctrines.

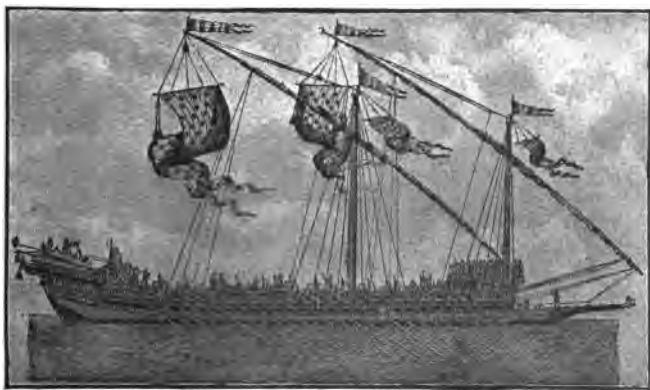
„ July. Captured by the French on surrender of Castle of St. Andrews, and sent as prisoner to French galleys.



9. 'Knox dispensing the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the Castle of St. Andrews, 1547,' by W. Bonnar, R.S.A. (*See page 5.*)

1547 July
to
1549 February.

A slave for nineteen months in the *Notre Dame* galley, chained to the oar, with other Scotch Protestants, at Rouen, Fécamp, Nantes, La Rochelle, and elsewhere. 'John Knox had to row in French galleys; wandered forlorn in exile; was shot at through his windows; had a right sore fighting life. If this world were his place of recompense, Knox had made but a bad venture of it!'—THOMAS CARLYLE in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, Lecture 4.



10. A French Galley.

1549. Liberated on the intercession of Edward VI. Appointed preacher at Berwick in April by English Privy Council, with the sanction of Archbishop Cranmer



11. Berwick Parish Church. (*See page 9.*)



12. Archbishop Cranmer. (*See page 7.*)
Burned 1556.

and the Protector Somerset. Preached in the Parish Church of Berwick for two years. (*See page 8.*)

1550. Discoursed at Durham before the Council of the North, including Dr. Tonstall, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Durham (the friend of Sir Thomas More and Erasmus), on *A Vindication of the Doctrine that the Sacrifice of the Mass is Idolatry*.
1551. Appointed by Privy Council to Newcastle. Preached in the Parish Church for two years.



13. St. Nicholas Church, Newcastle.

1552. Appointed by Privy Council one of six chaplains to Edward VI. at £40 a year. Preached before the king at Windsor, Hampton Court, St. James' Palace, and Westminster. Assisted in the revision of the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI., in which he obtained the insertion of the 'Declaration concerning Kneeling' at the end of the Communion Service, which states that 'thereby no adoration is intended, or ought to be done.' Assisted also in



14. Edward vi., by Holbein. (See page 7.)

In his writings Knox frequently refers with admiration to Edward's character and talents. In his *History of the Reformation* (Book I.) he mentions that the Queen-Dowager of Scotland (a Catholic) reported that 'she found more wisdom and solid judgment in young King Edward than in any three Princes then in Europe.'

the preparation of the Articles of the Church of England, the thirty-eighth of which, on The Doctrine of the Eucharist, was modified partly on his representation. The signatures of the Royal Chaplains are appended to a draft of the Articles in Latin, still extant :—

Jo Harley
William Bill
Robertus Horne
Andreas perne
Edmundus grindall
Jo Knox

15. Signatures of Edward's Chaplains.

Of these, *Grindall* became Archbishop of Canterbury, *Horne*, Bishop of Winchester, *Harley*, Bishop of Hereford, *Bill*, Dean of Westminster, and *Perne*, Dean of Ely. High office was also tendered to John Knox. In 1552 he declined the Bishopric of Rochester, offered to him at the instigation of the Duke of Northumberland, with the approval of Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State (afterwards Lord Burghley).



16. Duke of Northumberland (by Holbein , father of the Earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's favourite, father-in-law of Lady Jane Grey, and grandfather of Sir Philip Sidney. Beheaded 1553. (See page 11.)



17. Rochester Cathedral. (See page 11.

1553. Declined the vicarage of All Hallows in London.
After the death of Edward vi. preached at



18. Queen Mary Tudor ('The Bloody Mary'). (See page 14.)
By Sir Antonio Moro.

Amersham, and elsewhere in the southern counties of England. Fled to France in the end of 1553 or the beginning of 1554 from the Popish persecution under Queen Mary Tudor. (*See page 13.*)



19. Amersham Parish Church.

1554. Published *A Faithful Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth in England*.

1554-5. At Dieppe; then at Geneva and Zurich; and from November 1554 to March 1555 at Frankfort, as one of the ministers of the English congregation, his colleague being Thomas Lever, M.A., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. From Frankfort he returned to Geneva as one of the ministers of the English Congregation there, which, among its two hundred and twelve members, embraced

some of the greatest English scholars of the time. His colleague in Geneva was Christopher Goodman, B.D. of the University of Oxford. (*See*



20. Temple de Notre Dame La Neuve, Geneva. (*See page 16.*)

page 45.) On intimate terms with John Calvin and Theodore Beza.

1555 August. Landed in Scotland.

1556. Married to Marjorie Bowes, fifth daughter of Richard Bowes of Aske, in the county of Durham, Captain

- of the Hold of Norham, by whom he had two sons, Nathanael and Eleazer Knox. (See pages 53 to 57.)
- 1556 July. Returned from Scotland to Geneva to resume duty as one of the English ministers in the Temple de Notre Dame La Neuve. (See page 15.)
1557. Tried in absence before the Provincial Council at Edinburgh. Degraded from the priesthood, condemned to the flames as a heretic, and burnt in effigy.
- „ May. Birth of his son Nathanael at Geneva ; William Whittingham, John Calvin's brother-in-law, afterwards Dean of Durham, acted as godfather.
1558. Published *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment (Government) of Women*, and *An Appellation from the Sentence pronounced by the Bishops and Clergy, addressed to the Nobility and Estates of Scotland*.
- „ 21st June. Received the Freedom of the City of Geneva.
- „ 29th November. Birth of his son Eleazer at Geneva ; Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, acted as godfather. (See page 117.)
1559. Left Geneva in January for Scotland. Spent some time on the way at Dieppe, where, under his preaching in French, many of the leading inhabitants became Protestants. (See page 127.)
- „ 2nd May. Arrived in Scotland.
- „ June. Endeavoured unsuccessfully to save the Abbey

and Palace of Scone from destruction by the 'rascal multitude.'

1559 July. Elected minister of Edinburgh at the age of fifty-five. Preached in the Collegiate Church of St. Giles twice on Sundays, and three times during the week. (*See page 50.*)



21. Seal of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles in Edinburgh.

- „ August. Knox in the Castle of Berwick, in secret communication with Sir William Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's Chief Secretary. (*See pages 18 and 77.*)
- „ September. Knox's wife and two sons arrived in Edinburgh from Geneva.
- 1560 31st March. Mass said for the last time in St. Giles, Edinburgh.
- „ April. Settled finally in Edinburgh, after preaching in different parts of Scotland.



22. Queen Elizabeth as Wisdom, by Zuccheri, in the collection of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield House.

The serpents on the Queen's sleeves typify Wisdom; while the sun in her right hand is emblematic of beneficence and splendour, and the eyes and ears on her gown of watchfulness and acuteness.

- 1560 August. Abolition by the Scottish Parliament of the Jurisdiction of the Pope in Scotland, and Ratification of the Confession of Faith, prepared by Knox and his associates.
- „ December. Death of Marjorie Bowes—‘my late dearest spouse of blessed memory,’ as Knox calls her in his Will.
- 1561 20th August. Mary, Queen of Scots, 18 years of age, landed at Leith. (*See page 58.*)
- „ 26th August. Knox’s first interview with Queen Mary (at Holyrood). (*See pages 57 and 65.*)
- 1562 15th December. His second interview with Queen Mary (at Holyrood). (*See page 62.*)
1563. John Craig (a Dominican Friar who had been condemned to the stake for heresy by the Inquisition at Rome in 1559) appointed Knox’s colleague. Craig had so entirely forgotten his native tongue, that on his first appointment he preached in the Magdalene Chapel in Latin! (*See page 45.*)
- „ 13th and 14th April. His third interview with Queen Mary (at Lochleven). (*See pages 65 and 66.*)
- „ June. His fourth interview with Queen Mary (at Holyrood). (*See page 66.*)
- „ 21st December. Tried for High Treason at Holyrood before the Privy Council, presided over by Queen Mary (then 21 years old). Unanimously acquitted, against the Queen’s angry protest. (*See page 68.*)

1564. Palm Sunday. Married, at 59, Margaret Stewart, daughter of Andrew, Lord Ochiltree, aged 17, by whom he had three daughters — Martha, Margaret, and Elizabeth Knox. (*See page 70.*)
- 1565 29th July. Marriage of Queen Mary, 22 years old, to her cousin Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley.
1566. Mary, Queen of Scots, joined the Catholic League for the extirpation of Protestants throughout Europe.
- „ Composed a large part of his *History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*.
- 1566-7. Visited his two sons in the North of England.
- 1567 10th February. Lord Darnley murdered.
- „ 15th May. Mary, Queen of Scots, 3 months and 5 days after the murder of Lord Darnley, her husband, married Lord Bothwell, one of the ringleaders in the murder, and created him Duke of Orkney.
- „ 24th July. Abdication of Queen Mary, 24 years old, in Lochleven Castle, after her surrender at Carberry Hill.
- „ 29th July. Preached at Stirling at Coronation of James VI. The Earl of Moray appointed Regent.
- „ 15th December. Preached at opening of Parliament by which the Statutes of 1560 were ratified, and the Reformed Church was declared the only Church within the Realm.
1568. Flight of Queen Mary to England, after her escape from Lochleven and defeat at Langside.

- 1570 14th February. Preached in St. Giles a Funeral Sermon on Queen Mary's brother, the Earl of Moray, 'The Good Regent' of Scotland, Knox's most powerful supporter, assassinated at Linlithgow on 23rd January. Calderwood says:— 'Master Knox moved three thousand persons to shed tears for the loss of such a good and godly governor.' (*See page 72.*)
- 1570 Autumn. Struck by apoplexy, at the age of sixty-five.
- 1572 October. Complaint to the Privy Council by Du Croc, the French Ambassador, on account of Knox's denunciation of the French king for His Majesty's share in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Reply by the Privy Council that they cannot even stop John Knox denouncing themselves, when occasion requires!
- „ 9th November. Preached in St. Giles for the last time, at the induction of his successor, James Lawson, Vice - Principal of the University of Aberdeen. (*See page 79.*)
- „ 24th November. Death of John Knox in this house, at the age of sixty-seven.
- „ 26th November. Funeral. His éloge was pronounced by the Earl of Morton, the Regent of Scotland, at the open grave, beside St. Giles Church:— 'There lies one who neither feared nor flattered any flesh.' (*See page 86.*)

II

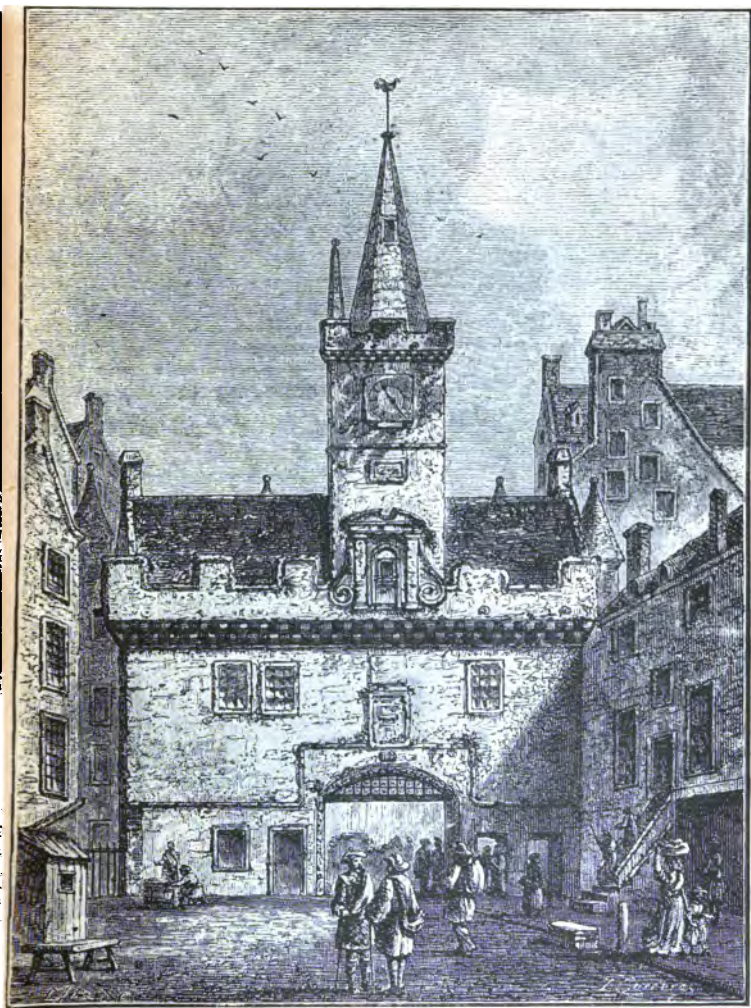
SITUATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE HOUSE

NEAR the place where the High Street ends and the Canongate (which continues that street to the palace of Mary Stuart) begins, stands John Knox's House, probably the most ancient dwelling-house in Edinburgh. It projects into the roadway which there narrows as it approaches the point where, until 1764, stood the Nether Bow Port, the eastern entrance gate to the city. In Knox's time, as now, the Church of St. Giles, of which he was minister, was in sight of his western windows; but in Knox's days any one standing at the south side of the house and looking down the street, would have his view stopped by the Nether Bow Port, with its row of traitors' heads grinning from the spikes surmounting the massive gateway.

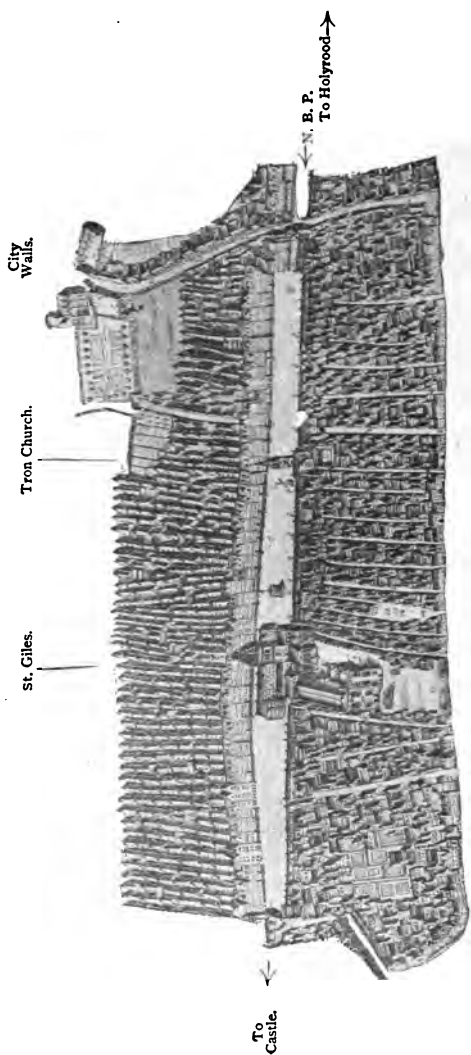
The woodcut on the opposite page shows the Nether Bow Port as it stood about fifty years after Knox's death.

On a Plan of Edinburgh, dated in 1647, John Knox's House is clearly shown in its relation to the Nether Bow Port. A portion of this Plan is printed on page 24.

The house is four storeys in height, with a garret in the



23. West side of Nether Bow Port, Edinburgh, in the 17th century. (See page 22.)



24. Part of a Plan of Edinburgh, 1647, by F. de Wit, Amsterdam.
The wide street in the centre of the Plan is the High Street leading from the Castle on the west by St. Giles Church, the Cross, and the Tron Church to John Knox's House and the Nether Bow Port on the east. (*See page 22.*)

roof, and a 'laigh' or low floor beneath the street level. The sunk storey, which appears from its large fireplace to have been the original kitchen of the house, is said to have contained an ancient well, but no trace of it can now be



25. Arch in sunk storey of John Knox's House.

found. In the place where the well was supposed to be, under a vaulted recess, measuring eight feet by six feet, a curious space hollowed out in the native rock has been recently discovered. This space is about five feet long, thirty

inches wide, and two feet six inches deep. It may have formed a base for a large tun of wine or ale. From the account of Knox's last illness by his Secretary, we know



26. Depression in floor of sunk storey of John Knox's House.

there were both wine and ale in Knox's house. (*See pages 80 and 85.*)

On the ground floor James Mosman, Queen Mary's goldsmith, carried on business between 1566 and 1572.

The lower storey is now occupied by Mr. W. J. Hay, antiquarian bookseller. There is a stone stair leading to the under storey. Originally, the chief entrance to the house was at the north-west angle, now transformed into a window. The inside stone wheel-stair leading from that entrance to the first and second floors still exists, and is at present in use. This is not the only internal stair in the house. Access to the second and third floors is obtained by another wheel-stair which begins on the first floor. This stair is in the south-east corner of the house, and is the only means of access to the third floor, occupied by the keeper of the house. Communication is now obtained from the street to the first floor by an outside stair, at the top of which are two doors, one leading into the first-floor rooms, and the other (only used by the keeper) opening on the foot of the stair inside the southern wall just mentioned. The outside stair is a comparatively modern structure, added probably last century. When the whole house was occupied by one household, access to the upper storeys from the street was got through the rooms in the first floor; but when the upper storeys were tenanted by a separate family, it became necessary to provide direct access to them from the street. This *forestair*, to use the old expression, although not belonging to the original structure, is now one of the few survivals of those outside stairs which were a character-

istic feature of old Edinburgh houses. The roof was originally covered with flag-stones, and later with tiles.

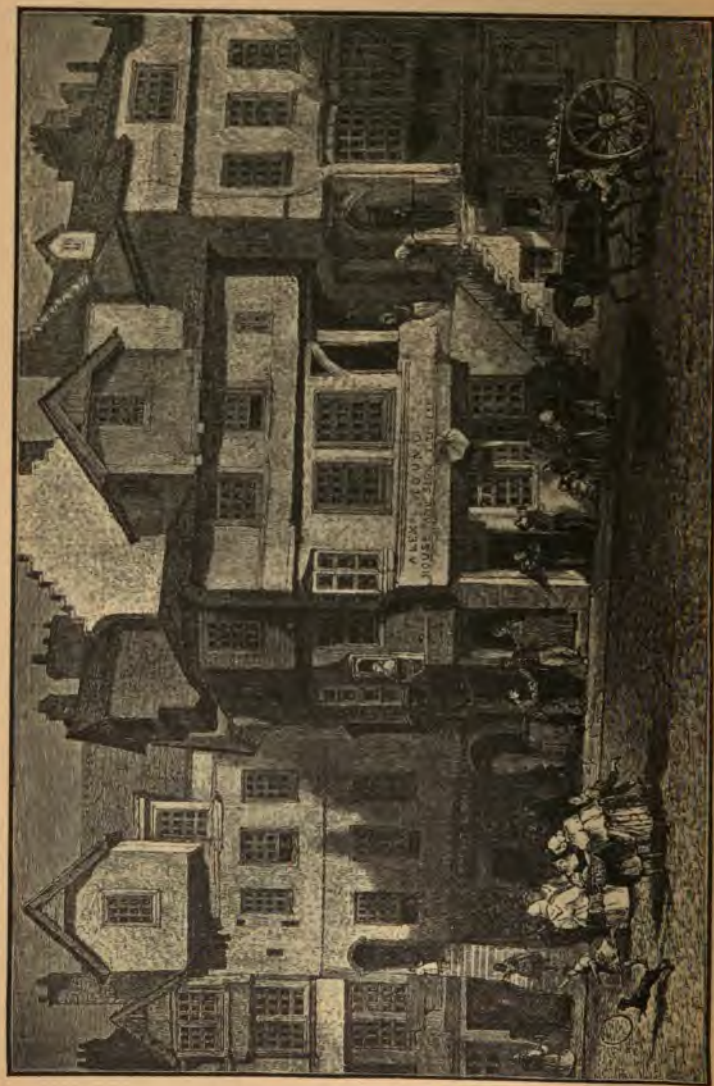
On the first floor is the room known as 'The Audience Chamber,' with a small room to the front, and a large room to the back. These rooms, which will be afterwards particularly described, are used as a museum for books, pictures, etc., relating to Knox and his times. Early in the present century the Audience Chamber contained a stuccoed ceiling, probably of the time of Charles II.

Above, on the second floor, are the three rooms specially associated by tradition with Knox's residence. The room to the back was his Bedroom; the large panelled room to the south, his Sitting or Dining room; and the little room in the wooden casing of the house, his Study. The dining-room is entered either direct from the bedroom, or by a passage in the wooden casing of the west side of the house. Originally, the former was the only access; and it appears as if, when the house was first cased in wood, the outside passage had been left open with only a balustrade. The window in this outside passage is modern. Adjoining the door of the Study, will be noticed a landing on the stair which leads from the first floor to the keeper's house in the upper storey. The upper storey and the garret are not shown to the public.

With the exception of the general outline contained in the plan of 1647 given above, the earliest known represen-



27. From a Water-colour of John Knox's House, 1823, by J. Ewbank, R.S.A.



22. Allom's Drawing of John Knox's House, 1848.

tation of the house is to be found in the drawing which forms the frontispiece to this volume. The next picture in order of date is a water-colour by J. Ewbank, R.S.A., taken in 1823, engraved on page 29.

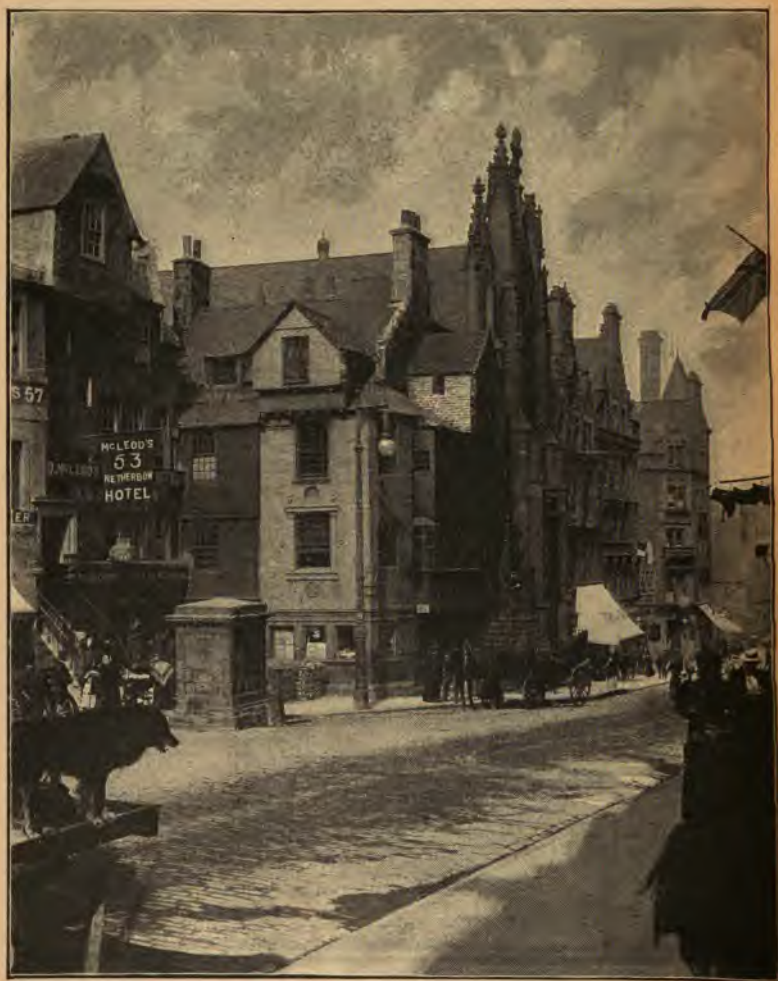
The drawing by Allom in 1838, on the opposite page, is valuable as showing the adjoining house to the east of Knox's House, which no longer exists. (*See page 36.*)

The next stage of the house, after it had been partially wrecked by the fall of the house just mentioned, is shown on page 94. The picture on page 32 shows the appearance of the house in 1897.

See also Sir George Reid's drawing of the house in Mrs. Oliphant's *Royal Edinburgh*, page 284.

The house is built of polished freestone. The original wood throughout the house was oak. A few years ago, when it became necessary to remove some of the joists, the workmen found that, although the ends of the joists in the walls were rotten, the rest of the wood was as sound as when the oaks were felled 400 years ago.

The internal divisions of the house are similar to those which existed in the Reformer's time. When the property was acquired for the public in 1846, the house contained partitions and other additions which have since been removed. Externally, the most interesting features in the stone-work were at that time concealed by projecting wooden erections of comparatively modern date, and by the signboards of the shops on the lower and first floors.



29. John Knox's House in 1897. (*From a Photograph.*)

Thus, the Renaissance window on the west side, as well as the tablet below, were almost entirely covered by a curved wooden bow-window divided by astragals into numerous small panes. At the south-west angle of the house, the figure of Moses pointing to the sun in glory, with clouds rolling round it, and inscribed with the thrice-repeated name of God in Greek, Latin, and English, as also the sun-dials beneath, were lost behind a ridiculous wooden pulpit surmounted by a canopy supported on pillars, and framing the figure of Moses, who was thus made to do duty for the Reformer ! Even the devout motto—



No. 30.

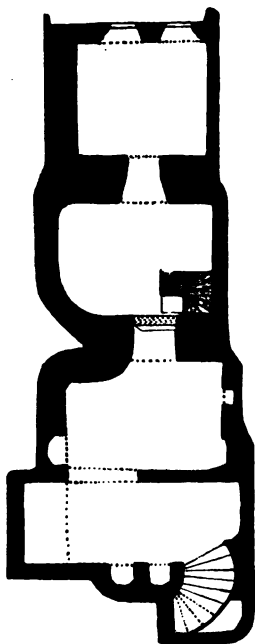
‘LVFE·GOD·ABOVE·AL·AND·YI·NIGHTBOVR·AS·YI·SELF’

—running along the frieze over the street floor, was partly overlaid by a shop sign.

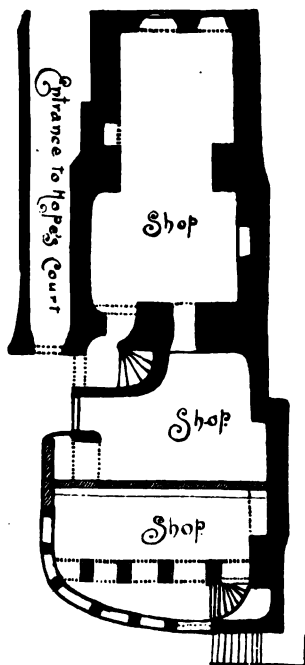
All these casings have been removed, with the result that the moulded window, the tablet, the inscription, the figure of Moses, and the sun-dials are now visible.

The external feature which first attracts the attention of the passer-by is the extent to which, by projecting beyond the houses to the west, the quaint gables of John Knox’s

House narrow the street. The house is also distinguished from its neighbours by its outside stair, the antique style of the windows, the external wooden casing, the projecting



31. Laigh Floor.



32. Ground Floor.

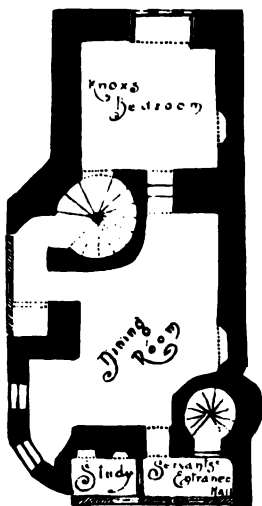
upper windows, the decorative work above and under the bow-window on the west front and at the south-west angle,

and the tablet and quaint inscription above referred to. The significance of the initials and coat of arms on the tablet will be afterwards explained. (*See pages 38-9.*)

The internal arrangements of the house appear suffi-



33. First Floor.

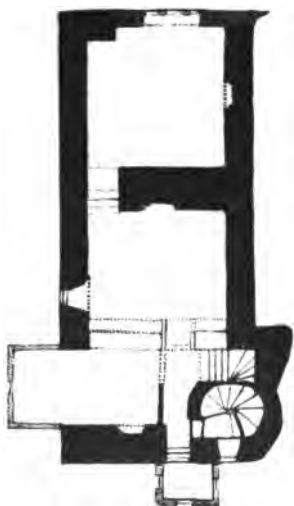


34. Second Floor.

ciently from the ground-plans of the several storeys, printed on pages 34 to 36.

To the east of John Knox's House, stands a modern church called John Knox's Free Church. It was built in

1850, and occupies the site of a timber-fronted house belonging last century to the Balmerino family, the last member of which was Lord Balmerino, beheaded in London for his participation in the Rebellion of 1745. The Balmerino House fell in 1840.



35. Third Floor.



36. Garret.

To the west of John Knox's House is an ancient house, a famous tavern about the middle of the eighteenth century, the ground floor of which is now occupied as a shop, and the upper storeys as a hotel. It contains on

the second floor a large room with panelled walls and a decorated ceiling. The following sketch of the room is taken from the fourth volume of *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, by Messrs. Macgibbon and Ross:—



37. Panelled Room in Next House.

III

ERECTION AND EARLY HISTORY

THE precise date of the original erection of John Knox's House cannot now be ascertained. It appears to have been constructed at two different periods. On the first occasion, what may be called the stone shell was built, and at a later period external decoration was added, part of the house was cased in wood, and the upper windows were projected outwards. In the opinion of some, the wooden casing originated in open galleries, afterwards closed up. There are two entries in extant records which throw light on both periods of the house's history. In Knox's later years, the house was owned by James Mosman, who married in 1566 Mariot or Mariota Arres, daughter of John Arres. The tablet on the west front bears the Mosman arms, and initials of the pair; J. M. standing for the husband, and M. A. for the wife. This James Mosman, who owned other house property in Edinburgh, was a goldsmith. His father, Alane Mosman, who was also a goldsmith, remade the Scottish Crown in 1540 for James v., and made the Crown for James's Consort, Mary of Lorraine, commonly called Mary of Guise, the mother of Mary, Queen of Scots;

and his descendants still carry on the business of goldsmiths in Edinburgh. Going further back in the old records, we find from the Protocol Book of Vincent Strachan, under date December 1525, that the house belonged at that time to John Arres. The date of its original erection has been stated as 1490. In any case it was anterior to 1525.



38. Tablet on West Wall.

But in 1544 occurred an event in the history of Edinburgh which must have involved extensive reconstruction of any house existing, like this one, before that date. In that year, the Earl of Hertford, at the head of an expedition sent by Henry VIII., burned down Edinburgh. It is probable that not only the tablet but also the decorative work at the south-west angle, the wooden casing, and the upper projecting windows, were added in or about 1566, when James Mosman married Mariot Arres, the daughter and heiress of John Arres. Whether or how long the house was occupied by James and Mariot Mosman does not appear. In Knox's last years, James Mosman, who adhered to Roman Catholicism, was a refugee in the Castle

of Edinburgh, whither he fled with other supporters of Queen Mary. He was hanged in 1573, and his estates forfeited, a year after Knox's death. Mosman was executed at the same time as Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, Knox's companion in the slavery of the French galleys, and afterwards his reluctant but formidable antagonist, who commanded the Castle in Queen Mary's interest.

It may be added that, amid all the controversy which John Knox's House has occasioned, its great antiquity has only once been questioned. In 1887 it was stated by a correspondent of the London *Standard* that John Knox's House as it now stands was a new construction. He asserted that he remembered the fall of the former house between 1840 and 1850, and that, as to the present house, he 'minded the biggin' o't!' He made no reply, however, when I pointed out that he was confounding John Knox's House with Lord Balmerino's, farther down the High Street, which, as already mentioned, fell in 1840. On the same subject, when dealing with the question whether this house, as maintained by some, was inhabited by the Abbot of Dunfermline prior to John Knox taking possession of it, the eminent Scottish antiquary, the late Professor Sir Daniel Wilson, wrote :—

'With its antique gabled architecture, its ingenious emblematic sculptures, its heraldic decorations and inscriptions, John Knox's House is replete with interest, as a relic of olden centuries, and of an obsolete style of building altogether apart

from traditional associations, either with Mitred Abbot or with the Reformer. Wholly apart from any such associations, the preservation of this old building with its unique decorations is a matter of congratulation to every one capable of appreciating this highly characteristic memorial of one of the most memorable periods of our national history.'

IV

THE CONNECTION OF THE HOUSE WITH JOHN KNOX

As in the case of Shakespeare's birthplace at Stratford, the connection of this house with John Knox rests on tradition; the tradition, however, being accordant with every probability, and unshaken by any contrary tradition, or by any surrounding circumstances tending to disprove or to throw discredit on it. Knox not having been the owner, but only the occupant of the house, the title-deeds are, of course, silent as to his connection with it. No writing by Knox or by his contemporaries contains any description of his Edinburgh residence or residences sufficient for identification. The house is now unique; but there was no peculiarity about it in Knox's time to lead to its description by such visitors as the English Ambassadors, whose correspondence, with numerous references to Knox, still exists among the English State Papers. Moreover, in Knox's days, dwelling-houses in towns were neither numbered nor named; and Knox was too well known to make it necessary for his correspondents, in addressing him, to add anything to his name in order that their letters might reach him.

As to histories of Edinburgh, these began last century,

with the works of such men as Maitland and Hugo Arnot. Even so late, there was an absence of that interest in personal details about great men which characterises modern history. But even although this interest had then existed, it is not



39. George Buchanan. (See page 44.)

likely that anything would have been said about Knox's house. These authors, following the ordinary literary view of the time, had no adequate appreciation of Knox as a historical character.¹ Indeed, his true position can only

¹ 'Knox is of the select of the earth to me. What he has suffered from the ungrateful generations that have followed him should really make us humble ourselves to the dust, to think that the most excellent man our country has produced, to whom we owe everything that distinguishes us among the nations, should have been so sneered at, misknown, and abused.'—Thomas Carlyle's *Rectorial Address* at Edinburgh, 2nd April 1866.

be gathered from contemporary documents, many of which, especially the correspondence between Elizabeth's ambassadors and her ministers in London, were unknown to these writers. It is a curious tribute to Knox's modesty that—so little did he thrust himself forward—even George Buchanan, his contemporary and friend, assigns no sufficient place to him in his *History of Scotland*.

When we come to what may be called guide-books, the first of these is Stark's *Picture of Edinburgh*, published in 1806. It thus refers to John Knox's house:—

'The edifice itself is one of the oldest stone houses in Edinburgh. As in the course of the improvements of this city this building will in a few years perhaps be removed, it is to be wished that the sculptured stones could be preserved in memory of a man who, whatever were his faults, by his bold eloquence and undaunted conduct, pulled down the fabric of a superstition which had shackled the mind for ages.'

Happily, the fear here expressed has not been realised. The sculptured stones still remain in their original position, where Knox saw them daily as we see them now.

The Minutes of the Town Council of Edinburgh, contain the following among other references to John Knox's residence in Edinburgh:—

8th May 1560.

The Provost, Bailies, and Council ordain Alexander Park, their Treasurer, to deliver to John Cairns £40 for furnishing of their minister John Knox in his household.

15th May 1560.

The Provost, Bailies, and Council ordain the Treasurer to pay twenty shillings for making the keys of the Cowgate Port, and for a lock to John Knox's Lodging.

4th September 1560.

The Bailies and Council—having consideration that, for the ease of John Knox, minister, John Durie, tailor, removed himself forth of the Lodging occupied by the Abbot of Dunfermline, that the said minister might enter thereto—ordain Alexander Park, Treasurer, to pay to John Durie the sum of eight merks. The said Bailies and Council also faithfully promise that how soon they may provide the said minister another Lodging, to enter the said John Durie to the possession thereof.

30th October 1560.

The Provost, Bailies, and Council ordain James Barroun to content and pay to John Knox the sum of six score pounds of the readiest money of the Town being in his hands, and such-like the sum of £20 for iron and fire work furnished to his house.

5th November 1561.

The Provost, Bailies, and Council ordain the Dean of Guild with all diligence to make a warm study of deals to the minister John Knox, within his Lodging, above the hall of the same, with lights and windows thereunto, and all other necessities.

18th August 1564.

The Provost, Bailies, and Council understand that, by the command of the Kirk, John Knox and John Craig, ministers, are instantly to depart, the one to the north, and the other to the south parts, for preaching the Evangel in these parts, and that it is appointed that Christopher Goodman,

46 Connection of the House with John Knox

minister of St. Andrews, shall abide in these parts till their returning, and in their places to minister and preach. Wherefore they ordain Master John Spens [Queen's Advocate] to pass to the said Master Goodman, to offer him in their names all honourable entertainment, and cause the Steward of John Knox's House to keep table to him upon the Town's expense; and they ordain Alexander Park, their Treasurer, to pay the same weekly.

23rd August 1565.

The Bailies, Council, and Deacons of Crafts ordain John Sym, David Forester, and Allan Dickson, Bailies, Master Robert Glen, Treasurer, James Nicholl and William Fowler of the Council, this afternoon to pass to the King's and Queen's Majesties [Queen Mary and Lord Darnley], desiring to be heard of them touching the discharging of John Knox, minister, of further preaching, and the deposing of Archibald Douglas, Provost, and to report their answer in the morn.

The same day, afternoon, the Bailies, Council, and Deacons foresaid, being convened in the Council House, after long reasoning upon the discharging of John Knox, minister, of preaching during the King's and Queen's Majesties being in this town, all in one voice conclude that they will no manner of way consent that his mouth be closed in preaching the True Word, and therefore willed him at his pleasure, as God should move his heart, to proceed forward in True Doctrine as he has been of before, WHICH DOCTRINE THEY WOULD APPROVE AND ABIDE AT TO THEIR LIFE'S END.

19th November 1568.

The Provost, Bailies, and Council ordain the Treasurer to cause repair the necessities of John Knox's dwelling-house upon (*at*) the expense of John Adamson and Bessie Otterburne, his spouse, conjunct *fiar* (*proprietor*) thereof, and deduct the same from their house mail (*rent*), because they have been oft-times required to do the same and refused.

4th March 1569.

The Bailies and Council ordain Andrew Stevenson, Treasurer, to pay to John Adamson the sum of forty merks for the mail (*rent*) of his house occupied by John Knox the year past, deducting therefrom the sum of eight pounds disbursed by the Treasurer in re-apparelling of the said house in default of John Adamson, who had been required to do the same, and also twelve merks, twelve shillings, disbursed by the Treasurer in repairing the house, in addition to the eight pounds above mentioned.

NOTE.—*The Minutes for the period between June 1571 and 24th November 1572, when Knox died, are lost.*

The Protocol Book of Alexander Guthrie, Town-clerk of Edinburgh, under date 8th April 1563, contains an entry of a sasine or infestment in certain properties in the High Street of Edinburgh in favour of a certain Robert Mowbray and his wife Janet Cant. Among other properties, infestment is given in '*totam et integram magnam suam mansionem et edificium, una cum horto et cauda ejusdem, nunc inhabitatam per Joannem Knoxium ministrum, cum suis pertinentiis, jacens infra dictum tenementum inter Borealem Lacum [the 'Nor' Loch] dicti burgi ex boreali et anteriorem terram dicti tenementi ex australi.*'

From the minutes above quoted and the extract from the Town-clerk's Protocol Book, Knox seems to have resided in different houses in Edinburgh. Whether, prior to the last of these dates, namely, 4th March 1569, he resided in this house, it is impossible to ascertain with certainty, although there are several circumstances which point to his

having done so. The details as to the 'warm study of deals' contained in the minute of 5th November 1561 (*see page 45*) correspond in several particulars with the existing Study. But, however this may be, Knox's residence in the house during a portion of the last three years of his life, from 1569 to 1572, is sufficiently established. As Mrs. Oliphant puts it at page 284 of her *Royal Edinburgh*:—

'Whether Knox was at once placed in the picturesque house, with its parallel rooms and old-fashioned comfort and gracefulness, which still bears his name, standing out in a far-seeing angle, from which he could contemplate the abounding life of the High Street, the great parish in which half his life was spent, is not certain; but it was a most fit and natural lodging for the minister of St. Giles. And for the rest of his life, with very few intervals, all the stream of public life in Scotland flowed about this dwelling.'¹

But if the answer to the old question, 'Tell me, I pray thee, where the Seer's house is?' (1 Samuel ix. 18), depends mainly on tradition, it is proper to consider the probability of the tradition being correct.

The so-called Holy Places in Jerusalem are purely conjectural, because not only were the events rendering them memorable comprised within a few hours, but, for genera-

¹ John Galt introduces the house into his *Annals of the Parish* (1821). Mr. Balwhidder is speaking of his visit to Edinburgh in 1779:—'In short, everybody in Edinburgh were in a manner wearisome kind! We could scarcely find time to see the Castle, and the Palace of Holyroodhouse, and that more sanctified place, where that Maccabeus of the Kirk of Scotland, John Knox, was wont to live.'

tions, neither Jew nor Christian—among whom alone would the tradition survive—was permitted within the walls of Jerusalem. In Edinburgh, the house in which Knox spent his last days must have been closely observed. He was not only Scotland's foremost churchman, but the greatest statesman his country has produced. All sorts and conditions of men and women frequented his residence—now a Scottish noble in coat of mail; now the English or French ambassador in gay attire; now a royal messenger from Holyrood; now a priest in disguise; now a minister in Geneva cloak; now a peasant to get this clerical tribune's influence against some noble's exactions; now men and women of all ranks seeking spiritual advice and comfort from the strangest mixture of practical wisdom and soaring spirituality, of a tender heart and an iron will, of wide sympathies and narrow views, of original conceptions and traditional prejudices, of habitual gravity and rare but genuinely real fun, that has ever been united in one man's organisation—truly a 'Son of Consolation' as well as a 'Son of Thunder!'

Notable, too, on the 26th of November 1572, must have been the house whence was carried that *fragile et imbecillum corpus* (to use Thomas Smeton's startling phrase) which had been compelled by its indomitable tenant into labours and hardships far beyond its capacity. Except in the line of the procession, there would not be many citizens left in the Edinburgh 'lands,' when Knox's funeral issued from his house, amid the open grief of the people, who were no

50 Connection of the House with John Knox

more to hear in the neighbouring St. Giles that voice which the English Ambassador assured Elizabeth's Secretary of State was 'able in one hour to put more life in us than



40. St. Giles Crown.

five hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears.' There was more than grief that day—there was dismay ; for men knew how much the fate in England as well as in Scotland, not of Presbyterianism but of Protestantism, and

not of Protestantism alone but of freedom, civil and religious, and of equal laws for rich and poor, for gentle and simple, for lay and clerical, and of universal and thorough education both at school and at college, had depended on the man once a priest, later a pastor in Edinburgh, who—sometimes alone, and always with very indifferent support—had fought the battles of these great causes. It was no common conflict, and God called out from the ranks no common champion. The man who died in this house—‘not so much oppressed with years, as worn out and exhausted by his extraordinary labour of body and anxiety of mind’—sustained the brunt of the battle against a triple alliance : against the ancient Church, richer in Scotland in proportion to the resources of the nation than in any other country in Europe ; against the sovereign, who was Queen of Scotland, and also ex-Queen of France and Queen-presumptive of England ; and against the nobility, including not only those who adhered to Roman Catholicism, but also many Protestant peers, who showed their true colours, or at least their mixed motives, by appropriating the possessions of the Church, which Knox wished to see used for religion, and for education, and for the relief of the poor.

Further, while the supposed sites of the Holy Places in Jerusalem are not only conjectural but improbable—some, indeed, impossible—everything about this house is such as to have made it a probable residence for Knox’s last days.

Its size, its commanding position, its proximity to St. Giles, the flight of its owner, James Mosman, to the Castle, leaving the house unoccupied, all made it natural for the Town Council to assign it to the aged minister of St. Giles. Lastly, ever since Knox's time there has been in Edinburgh, even through Episcopal and Jacobite times, a sufficient body of local sympathy with Knox's opinions and of reverence for his memory to keep alive the identification of his abode.

We may add that the genuineness of the house has been accepted by the most eminent authorities, antiquarian, historical, and ecclesiastical, including Knox's biographers, Dr. M'Crie, writing in 1811, and Dr. Hume Brown, writing in 1895, Dr. David Laing, the editor of John Knox's works, and Professor Sir Daniel Wilson, LL.D. The authenticity of the house has been learnedly vindicated by Dr. Hume Brown in his *Life of John Knox*, vol. ii. p. 315. Those who have questioned the right of the house to its time-honoured name have confined their attention to the ten years from 1559, when Knox returned from Geneva, down to the earlier part of 1569. Assume that Knox resided elsewhere during a part, or even during the whole, of that period, it is sufficient to entitle the house to the pathetic veneration of all lovers of spiritual and intellectual liberty that the Reformer occupied it during his last days, and that it was under this roof that his dauntless spirit passed away.

V

INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH KNOX'S
HOME LIFE IN EDINBURGH, FROM
HIS RETURN FROM EXILE IN 1559 TO
HIS DEATH IN 1572

1. KNOX'S SETTLEMENT IN EDINBURGH IN 1559.

KNOX was married in 1556 to Marjorie Bowes, one of the fifteen children of an English Roman Catholic squire,



41. Streatlam Castle, in the County of Durham, in 1898.

Richard Bowes of Aske, Captain of the Hold of Norham, who was a younger son of Sir Ralph Bowes of Streatlam

Castle, and a brother of Sir Ralph Bowes, knighted at Flodden, and of Sir Robert Bowes, Warden of the Marches. A letter written in her hand as her husband's amanuensis to John Foxe, the martyrologist, commences and closes thus :—

The mighty comfort of the Holy Ghost for salutation.

DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER,—Albeit at the departure of this our brother, from whom I received your loving and friendly letter, myself could write nothing by reason of the evil disposition of my body, yet because I could not suffer him to depart without some remembrance of my duty to you, I used the help of my left hand, that is of my wife, in scribbling these few lines unto you. . . .

Salute your wife and daughter heartily in my name. The grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ rest with you now and ever.

From Geneva, the 18th of May 1558.—Your Brother to power,
JOHN KNOX.

To this letter, given in reduced facsimile on the next page, which is preserved among the Harleian mss. in the British Museum, Marjorie Bowes has added the following post-script on her own account :—

I, your sister, the writer hereof, salute you and your wife most heartily, thanking her of her loving tokens which my mother and I received from Mrs. Kent.

When Knox settled in Edinburgh, his household consisted of his wife, his two sons, and his mother-in-law, Mrs. Bowes, towards whose peculiarities he behaved with singular gentleness and forbearance. In reference to his treatment of Mrs. Bowes, Carlyle wrote :—

'Knox was no despiser of women: far the reverse, in fact. His behaviour to good and pious women is full of respect; and his tenderness, his patient helpfulness in their sufferings and infirmities (see the letters to his mother-in-law and others) are beautifully conspicuous.'—*Essay on the Portraits of John Knox.*

*The myghtie comfyt of the lorde god
for solatary*

Dearke belovd brother albeit at the distance of this our brother from
whom I receivede yo^r loving and friendly tre my fowle could not
withstande to receive of the small discomfyt of my bodie. yet because I
could not suffer long to depart withoute for remembrance of my debts
to you I wrote the lode of my left hand that is of my waite
as shewing the fowle bynd with you I write yo^r
waite. and dowgred further in my name for grace of our
lord I hope yo^r self will be to you and our fowle fowle
18 of may 1558

*your brother
John Knox*

I v^e M^r. the pover brother I write yo^r and yo^r waite must
be the fowle bynd of the lode of my left hand and
I receivede from our lord

42. Marjorie Bowes' Letter and Postscript.

2. DEATH OF KNOX'S FIRST WIFE.

Marjorie Bowes, Knox's faithful companion during four years of wandering and danger, did not long survive his

return to Scotland. She died in Edinburgh in December 1560, when probably not more than twenty-seven years of age. Knox has a touching reference to her in his Will. After arranging for the upbringing of her two sons, he adds :—

‘To my two sons, Nathanael and Eleazer Knox, I unfeignedly leave that same benediction that their dearest mother, Marjorie Bowes left unto them, to wit, that God, for His Son Christ Jesus’ sake, would of His mercy make them His true fearers and as upright worshippers of Him as any that ever sprang out of Abraham’s loins. Whereto now, as then, I from my troubled heart say, Amen ! Further, I have delivered by Master Randolph [the English Ambassador], to Master Robert Bowes, Sheriff of the Bishopric [of Durham], and brother to the said Marjorie, my late dearest spouse, the sum of Five Hundred Pounds of Scots money, to the utility and profit of my said two sons ; the which money is that part of substance that fell to them by the decease of Marjorie Bowes, their mother, of blessed memory, and augmented by me as I might spare, to make out the said sum.’

John Calvin, in a letter of condolence to John Knox, wrote, ‘Uxorem nactus eras cui non reperiuntur passim similes’ (‘ You found a wife the like of whom is not found everywhere’). Calvin also speaks of her as ‘suavissima uxor’ (‘ sweetest spouse’). I hoped this book would contain a hitherto unpublished portrait of Marjorie Bowes. In Mr. Augustus Hare’s *Story of my Life* (1896) he refers to a portrait of Marjorie Bowes which he saw at Streatlam Castle in 1861. Notwithstanding all efforts to trace it, this portrait cannot now be discovered.

Within eight days after John Knox's death, his two sons, who had been resident for a time with their mother's relatives in England, were entered as students at Cambridge. They both took orders in the Church of England, became Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge, and died without issue, Nathanael in 1580, at the age of twenty-three, and Eleazer in 1591, at the age of thirty-three. At the time of his death, Eleazer was vicar of Clacton Magna in the Archdeaconry of Colchester. The Registers of St. John's College, Cambridge, contain their signatures :—

'Ego, Nathanael Knox, Richmondiensis admissus sum Socius pro Domina fundatrice.

'1577.'

Nathanael Knox

No. 43.

'Ego, Eleazer Knox, Richmondiensis admissus sum in Socium pro Doctore Keytone.

22 Mar. A.O. 1579.

Eleazer Knox

No. 44.

3. KNOX'S FIRST MEETING WITH QUEEN MARY.

On 26th August 1561, six days after Queen Mary's arrival from her twelve years' continuous residence in France, Knox was summoned to Holyrood. Mary angrily



Votre tres humble & tres obeissante fille

MARIE

45. Queen Mary (by François Clouet), in the Hermitage Gallery at St. Petersburg.
Beheaded 1587, at 44 years of age, after 18 years' captivity.

accused Knox of being a disloyal subject. Her complaints of Knox now and later were rather political and personal than religious. His spirited defence, in which he enforced doctrines which were startling then to royal ears, and never before openly avowed on Scottish soil, although now the commonplaces of all political parties, and her equally spirited attack, will be found reported at length by Knox in the fourth book of his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*.¹ His account ends with the impression of Mary's character, which the interview had produced :—‘ If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and His Truth, my judgment faileth me.’ Mary's cunning, so characteristic of her mother's family of Guise, seems much to have impressed Knox. In writing to Sir William Cecil on 7th October 1561, he said, ‘ In communication with the Queen I espyed such craft as I have not found in such age ’—18 years. The fact, which Mary's own letters to the Pope, as well as those of Cardinal de St. Croix, render certain, that, all the time she was offering toleration to the Scotch Protestants, she was also assuring the Courts of France and Spain, as well as the Pope, that she would effect no compromise with Protestantism, seems completely to justify Knox's view of Mary's character and conduct, and the policy which that view inspired.²

¹ Published for modern readers by A. & C. Black (London, 1898).

² Knox was as ignorant of the principles of toleration as his contemporaries, both Catholic and Protestant. But it is a fact worthy of notice that although he had been himself exiled, and imprisoned, and condemned

In some quarters it is assumed that Knox forced his views on the Queen. This is a mistake. He never wrote her a letter, and she refused to hear him preach. She had four interviews with him—one at Lochleven, and three at Holyrood ; and she presided at his trial for treason before the Privy Council ; but, on each occasion, Knox attended in obedience to the Queen's commands, and departed at her pleasure. He only spoke in reply to the Queen's questions, and his attitude was defensive. While he did not disguise his views, his manner was calm ; that of the Queen, when they disagreed, was either hysterical or insolent. When Thomas Randolph, the English Ambassador, reported the first interview to Sir William Cecil, he caustically said in reference to the Queen's tears, ' Well you know, there be of that sex that will weep as well for *anger* as for grief ! '

Carlyle sums up the situation thus :—

' It was unfortunately not possible to be polite with the Queen of Scots, unless one proved untrue to the Nation and Cause of Scotland. A man who did not wish to see the land of his birth made a hunting-field for intriguing, ambitious Guises, and the Cause of God trampled under foot of Falsehoods, Formulas, and the Devil's Cause, had no method of making himself agreeable. The hapless Queen ! BUT THE STILL MORE HAPLESS COUNTRY, IF SHE WERE MADE HAPPY ! '—*Heroes and Hero-Worship*.

to the stake for his opinions, although attempts had been more than once made to assassinate him, he was never accessory to the death of a single individual for his religious opinions. It was chiefly due to his influence that a revolution of such magnitude and importance as the Reformation in Scotland was accomplished with so little bloodshed, and sullied by so little personal suffering.

4. KNOX'S INTERVIEW WITH THE EARL OF BOTHWELL
(AFTERWARDS QUEEN MARY'S THIRD HUSBAND).

'In March 1562 the Earl Bothwell desired to speak with John Knox secretly. This the said John gladly granted,



46. John Knox's Study.

and spake him upon a night in his own Study. The said Earl's chief dolour was that he had misbehaved himself

against the Earl of Arran, whose favour he was most willing to redeem, and desired the said John to give him his best counsel.' In connection with the same matter, the Earl of Arran (previously Colonel of the French King's Scottish Guards) came to John Knox's house on 26th March with an extraordinary story. The whole incident, graphically told by John Knox in the fourth book of his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, from which the above quotation is taken, is well worth reading.

5. KNOX'S SUNDAY SUPPER PARTY.

On 30th November 1562, Thomas Randolph wrote from Edinburgh to Sir William Cecil :—

'The Duke of Chatelherault [Governor of Scotland during part of Queen Mary's minority] (*see page 64*) came unto this town on Thursday last. Upon Sunday at night the Duke supped with Master Knox, where the Duke desired that I should be.

'Three special points he hath promised to perform to Master Knox before me. The one is never to go, for any respect, from that he hath promised to be—a professor of Christ's Word and setter forth of the same to his power. The next, always to show himself an obedient subject to his Sovereign, as far as in duty and conscience he is bound. The third, never to alter from that promise he hath made for the maintenance of peace and amity between both the Realms [of Scotland and England]. I will believe them all as I see them take effect, but trust it shall never lie in his words alone !'

6. KNOX'S SECOND MEETING WITH QUEEN MARY.

The Queen and the Reformer met for the second time at Holyrood on 15th December 1562. Following on the news



47. John Knox's Dining-Room.

of the persecutions of the French Huguenots by Queen Mary's uncles, there were unusual festivities at Holyrood ; and the Scotch Protestants, justly or unjustly, connected the two



48. Duke of Chatelherault (Regent Arran), by Ketel. (*See page 62.*)

events together. Thomas Randolph, writing to Sir William Cecil on 16th December 1562, tells the rest of the story:—

‘Upon Sunday last John Knox inveighed sore against the Queen’s dancing, and the little exercise of herself in virtue or godliness. The report hereof being brought into her ears yesterday, she sent for him. She talked a long time with him. Little liking there was between them. Yet did they so depart as no offence or slander did rise thereupon.’

Knox thus concludes his account of the meeting:—

‘The said John departed with a reasonably merry countenance. Thereat some Papists, offended, said, “He is not affrayed!” Which heard of him, he answered, “Why should the *pleasing face of a gentlewoman* affray me? I have looked in the faces of many ANGRY MEN, and yet have not been affrayed above measure!”’—*History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Book IV.

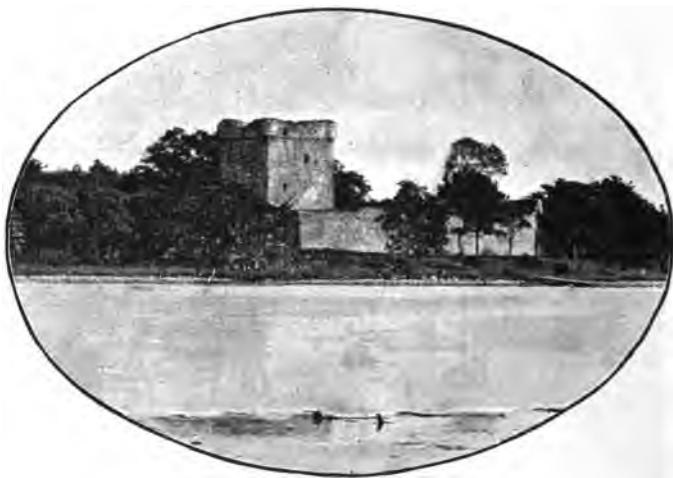


49. The Palace of Holyrood House before the Fire of 1650 (after Gordon of Rothiemay).

7. KNOX'S THIRD MEETING WITH QUEEN MARY.

Mary and Knox met at Lochleven on 13th and 14th April 1563. Mary exerted all her splendid powers of fascination, and although Knox yielded nothing, they parted on friendly terms. At this meeting the Queen is said to have presented

Knox with the watch of which a drawing is given on the opposite page.¹ Their conversation at all these meetings was probably carried on in French.



50. Lochleven Castle.

8. KNOX'S FOURTH MEETING WITH QUEEN MARY.

This meeting took place at Holyrood in June 1563. In earlier years Knox had strongly advocated a union of the two crowns by a marriage between Edward VI. and the Queen of Scotland. Now Mary was 'in a vehement fume' on account of his objections to her proposed marriage to Don Carlos, the epileptic son of Philip II. of Spain. Touched

¹ The tradition is picturesque, and may be true. But no mention is made of this royal gift in the list of valuables bequeathed by Knox to his sons. See page 89.

at this tender point (although by her conduct she afterwards admitted the justice of Knox's views), she burst into hysterical tears before he had said a word, and exclaimed: 'I cannot be quit of you. I avow to God I shall be revenged. What have you to do with my marriage? What are you within this commonwealth?' Knox replied, with dignified respect, 'A subject born within the same, Madam, albeit I be neither Earl, Lord, nor Baron



51. Watch said to have been presented by Queen Mary to Knox.
(See page 66.)

within it. . . . If it please your Majesty patiently to hear me, I shall show the truth in plain words. . . . Madam, in God's presence I speak, I never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures. I can scarcely abide the tears of my own boys whom my own hand correcteth, much less your Majesty's weeping. But, seeing I have offered to you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth, I must sustain, albeit unwillingly, your Majesty's tears, rather than I dare hurt my conscience or betray my

Commonwealth through my silence.' Knox was equally candid with the ladies of the Court, to whom in the ante-chamber he said in words that recall the speech of Hamlet: 'O fair ladies, how pleasing were this life of yours if it should ever abide; and then in the end that we might pass to Heaven with all this gay gear! But fie upon that knave Death, that will come, whether we will or not! And, when he has laid on his arrest, the foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and so tender; and the silly [*weak*] Soul, I fear, shall be so feeble that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targetting [*bordering with tassels*], pearl, nor precious stones!'—*History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Book iv.

Knox's vivid description of this interview has been said to exhibit his highest literary powers in the dramatic presentment of the materials of his *History*.

9. KNOX ARRAIGNED FOR TREASON BEFORE THE PRIVY COUNCIL, PRESIDED OVER BY QUEEN MARY.

In the end of 1563 the struggle between Protestantism and Popery reached a crisis. Two Protestants had been apprehended, and it was believed they would not receive a fair trial. Knox addressed a circular letter to the Protestants throughout the country, urging them, for the safety of their religion, to appear in Edinburgh at the date of the approaching trial. The Queen thought that she had at last caught her great adversary in a net. Knox was summoned to appear before the Privy Council on a charge of High Treason.

But the Queen met a bitter disappointment. In the Council were many of Mary's strongest supporters, including the Roman Catholic Bishop of Ross, and her Secretary of State, William Maitland of Lethington, the ablest man in Scotland next to Knox himself. Before the vote,



52. William Maitland of Lethington (from a picture in the collection of the Earl of Lauderdale at Thirlestane Castle). Poisoned (?) 1573.
 'Lethington hath a crafty head, and a fell tongue.'—*Randolph to Cecil*.

the Queen retired, confident of the result. The Council voted unanimously in Knox's favour! Mary at once returned and commanded the vote to be taken over again. This only made matters worse. 'The whole Nobility,' in the words of the account given by Knox in his *History*,

'were highly offended, and began to speak in open audience. "What! shall the presence of a woman cause us to offend God and to condemn an innocent against our conscience for pleasure of any creature?"' The vote was again unanimously Not Guilty; and, as Knox puts it, 'The Queen raged, and the flatterers of the Court stormed!'

10. KNOX'S SECOND MARRIAGE.

We have already seen the Queen's 'vehement fume' against John Knox, because of the Reformer's objections to her proposed marriage. With that in view, it is comical to find the English Ambassador, one of many witnesses to Mary's abusive tongue,¹ writing, on 18th March 1564, to Queen Elizabeth's Chief Secretary of State:—

'Master Knox hath been twice proclaimed in the church to be married on Palm Sunday to Margaret Stewart, daughter to the Lord Ochiltree, WHEREAT THE QUEEN STORMETH WONDERFULLY: FOR MARGARET STEWART IS OF THE BLOOD AND NAME' [of the Royal House of Stewart].

At this time Knox had two children, six and five years old, and he had been a widower for more than three years. He was fifty-nine, and Lord Ochiltree's daughter seventeen. A contemporary account, but from a hostile quarter, says

¹ The historian David Hume, Mary's uncompromising defender as against John Knox, wrote to Principal Robertson: 'I am afraid that you, as well as myself, have drawn Mary's character with too great softenings. She was, undoubtedly, a violent woman at all times.'



53. 'The Home-Coming of Knox after his Second Marriage,' by James Drummond, R.S.A.

that when Knox brought his bride home, he came 'riding with a great court on a trim gelding, not like a Prophet or an old decrepit Priest, as he was, but like as he had been one of the Blood-Royal with his bands of taffetie



54. The Regent Moray, from the picture in Holyrood Palace. (*See page 73.*)
Assassinated 1570.

'The man whom all the godly did most reverence.'—*John Knox.*

fastened with golden rings and precious stones.' (*See page 71.*) The veracity of this account may be tested by the statement with which it concludes:—'As is plainly reported in the country, he did so allure that poor gentlewoman by sorcery and witchcraft that she could not live

without him'!! The marriage was a very happy one. Margaret Stewart had three daughters—Martha Knox, married to Alexander Fairlie, a Scotch landed proprietor; Margaret Knox, married to the Rev. Zachary Pont, minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, and Archdeacon of Caithness; and the intrepid Elizabeth Knox, married to the Rev. John Welsh of Ayr. From these are descended the families which claim to be of Knox's blood.

11. KNOX'S MOST POWERFUL SUPPORTER ASSASSINATED.

Queen Mary's natural brother, the Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland, was assassinated at Linlithgow on 23rd January 1570, and on 14th February Knox preached at St. Giles his funeral sermon. Of all the Scottish nobility, Knox placed the greatest confidence in the genuineness and depth of Moray's attachment to religion. He had well earned the name of 'The Good Regent.'

12. KNOX STRUCK WITH APOPLEXY AT SIXTY-FIVE.

This occurred in the autumn of 1570. His secretary, Richard Bannatyne, says in his *Memorials*, page 62 :—

'In this meantime John Knox was stricken with a kind of apoplexia, called by the physicians *resolution*, whereby the perfect use of his tongue was stopped. Hereof did the wicked not a little rejoice. The bruit [*report*] passed, not only through Scotland, but also to England, that he was become the most deformed creature that ever was seen, and that he would never preach nor yet speak! Therein God within a few days

declared them liars, for he convalesced and so returned to his exercise of preaching at least on the Sunday.¹

This account corresponds with the quaint description of Knox at St. Andrews in 1571 given by James Melville :—

‘Of all the benefits I had that year was the coming of that most notable Prophet and Apostle of our nation, Master John Knox, to St. Andrews. I heard him teach the Prophecy of Daniel. I had my pen and my little book, and took away such things as I could comprehend. In the opening up of his text he was moderate, the space of an half-hour. But when he entered to application, he made me so to grew [*thrill*] and tremble that I could not hold a pen to write.

‘In July, Master John Davidson, one of our Regents, made a Play at the marriage of Master John Colvin, which I saw played in Master Knox’s presence, wherein the Castle of Edinburgh was besieged and taken.

‘Master Knox would sometimes come in and repose himself in our College yard. He would call us scholars unto him and bless us, and exhort us to know God and His work in our country, and to stand by the good cause. I saw him every day of his doctrine [*teaching*] go hulie and fear [*slowly and warily*], with a furring of martricks [*martens*] about his neck, a staff in the one hand, and good godly Richard Bannatyne, his servant, holding up the other oxtter [*armpit*] from the Abbey to the Parish Church. Then by the said Richard and another servant he was lifted up to the pulpit, where he behoved to lean at his first entry. But, ere he had done with his sermon, he was so active and vigorous, that he was like to ding that pulpit in blads [*break that pulpit in pieces*] and flee out of it!’¹ (*See page 75.*)

¹ Translated thus by a modern French writer in the *Journal des Débats*: ‘he broke his pulpit, and jumped into the midst of his auditors (sautait au milieu des auditeurs)’!!



55. 'Knox preaching at St. Andrews to the Lords of the Congregation on 11th June 1559,' by Sir David Wilkie, R.A., in the National Gallery, London. The Countess of Argyll sits in front. Moray has both hands on his sword. Beside him are Morton, with one hand on his sword. Glencaine, and Argyll. The Catholic Lords are Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel. George Buchanan is in the gallery, with book in hand.

13. ATTEMPT TO SHOOT KNOX IN HIS HOUSE.

'It was John Knox's custom to sit at table, in his own house, at the head of it, with his back to the window. Yet, upon a certain night, he sat at a side of the table, when a bullet was shot in at the window, of purpose to kill him. But the conspirators missed, and the bullet lighted upon the chandler (*candlestick*), and made a hole in the foot of it, which is yet to be seen.'¹—Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, iii. 242.

'On the night of 19th April 1571, some brethren, fearing for John Knox, their minister, came and watched all night in the house.'—Bannatyne's *Memorials*, page 111.

14. KNOX'S LAST INTERVIEW WITH THE ENGLISH
AMBASSADOR.

On 6th October 1572, Sir Henry Kylligrew, Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador, wrote to Lord Burghley (Sir William Cecil), Knox's ancient ally, who, when a minister of Edward VI., had promoted Knox's nomination to the Bishopric of Rochester:—

'John Knox is now so feeble as scarce can he stand alone, or speak to be heard of any audience. Yet doth he every Sunday cause himself to be carried to a place where a certain number do hear him, and preacheth with the same vehemence and zeal that ever he did. He doth reverence your Lordship much, and willed me once again to send you word, that he thanked God he had obtained at His hands, that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is truly and simply preached throughout Scotland, which doth so comfort him as he now desireth to be out of this miserable life. He said further, that it was not [a]long of your Lordship that he was not a great Bishop in England; but

¹ This candlestick is now in the Perth museum. It was among the exhibits in the 'Bishop's Castle' at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888.

that effect grown in Scotland—he being an instrument—doth much more satisfy him.¹ He desired me to make his last



56. Sir William Cecil (Lord Burghley), by Marc Gheeraedts the Elder, in the collection of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield House.

commendations most humbly to your Lordship, and withal, that he prayed God to increase His strong Spirit in you.'

¹ 'Knox was often fierce, unrelenting, and unscrupulous. But he was also disinterested, upright, and sincere. The pomp of the mitre or the

15. KNOX'S RETURN FROM PREACHING HIS LAST SERMON
IN ST. GILES ON 9TH NOVEMBER 1572.

This sermon is described in Latin by Thomas Smeton, Principal of the University of Glasgow, who adds :—

‘After he had pronounced the blessing upon the people with



57. ‘Knox's Return from St. Giles,’ by Sir W. Fettes Douglas, P.R.S.A.
(From *St. Giles, Edinburgh*, by Very Rev. J. Cameron Lees, D.D., LL.D.)

a mind more cheerful than usual, but with a weak body and revenues of the wealthiest diocese had no attractions in his eyes.’—Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. page 331.

‘The primary characteristic of a hero, that he is sincere, applies emphatically to Knox. It is not denied anywhere that this, whatever might be

leaning upon his staff, John Knox departed, accompanied by almost the whole assembly, to his house, from which he did not again come forth in life.'—*Eximii viri Joannis Knoxii Scotticane Ecclesie instauratoris, fidelissimi, Vera extremæ vitæ et obitus Historia*, 1579.

16. KNOX'S DEATH-BED.

The incidents in Knox's last illness are described by his secretary, Richard Bannatyne, with minute fidelity and in words of simple pathos:—

'1572, Sunday, 9th November.—Master James Lawson [Vice-Principal of the University of Aberdeen, an eminent scholar] was inaugurated by John Knox in the pulpit of Edinburgh. John Knox declared to the whole assembly—as his weak voice would serve, which was heard but of a few—the duty of a minister, and also their duty to him likewise. He praised God, that had given them one in the place of himself, that was now unable to teach, and desired God to augment him a thousandfold above that he had, if it were His pleasure; and so, with the Common Blessing, ended.

'Friday, 14th November.—John Knox could scarce sit in a stool. Being demanded what he would do up? Said, he would go to the church and preach; for he thought it had been Sunday. He said he had been all night meditating upon the Resurrection of Christ, which he should have preached upon after the Death of Christ, which he had finished in his last sermon the Sunday before. Ofttimes he desired of God that he might end his days in the teaching and meditation of that doctrine.

his other qualities or faults, is among the truest of men. An old Hebrew prophet in the guise of an Edinburgh minister of the sixteenth century! —Thomas Carlyle, in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*.

'Saturday, 15th November.—John Durie and Archibald Stewart came in about twelve hours, not knowing how sick he was. For their cause he came to the table, which was the last time ever he sat at any hereafter. He caused pierce an hogshead, of wine which was in the cellar, and willed the said Archibald send for the same so long as it lasted ; for he would never tarry until it was drunken.¹

'Monday, 17th November.—The elders and deacons came, according to his desire, that he might bid them his last good-night, unto whom he protested that, howsoever he had been against any man, it was never for hatred of the person, but only to beat down in them that which rebelled against God, and for discharge of his conscience before God. He said he made not merchandise of the Word of God, whose message he bore, to whom he must make account for the same. In respect whereof—albeit he was weak and a fearful man—he feared not the faces of men ; and therefore exhorted them to stand constant in that doctrine which they had heard of his mouth, how unworthy that ever he was.² So, with exhortation unto them all, he commendeth them to God ; and after the Prayer read for the Sick (as it is in the Psalm Book),³ they departed with tears.⁴

¹ 'Knox had his pipe of Bordeaux in that old Edinburgh house of his ; a cheery, social man with faces that loved him !'—Thomas Carlyle, in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*.

² Spottiswood (*History*, page 265) adds that Knox at this interview exhorted his colleague : 'You, Master Lawson, fight a good fight ! Do the work of the Lord with courage and with a willing mind, and God from above bless you, and the church whereof you have charge ! Against it, so long as it continueth in the doctrine of truth, the gates of hell shall not prevail.'

³ See page 81.

⁴ 'These November days in the house in the Nether Bow are like the last scene of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, where a great concourse of pilgrims accompany Mr. Valiant-for-Truth to the river-side.'—Mrs. MacCunn's *John Knox*, page 225.

V. FRENCH TUNE.
Church part. Tenor.

VI. LONDON TUNE.
Church part. Tenor.

VII. STILT TUNE.
Church part. Tenor.

V. FRENCH TUNE.
Church part. Tenor.

VI. LONDON TUNE.
Church part. Tenor.

VII. STILT TUNE.
Church part. Tenor.

58. A Double Page of Knox's Liturgy, showing the Psalms 'in Reports,' used by persons standing or sitting opposite each other. (See page 80.)

'Before his sickness he gave command to his wife and his servant, Richard Bannatyne, that when God should send him sickness, so that he was not able to read, one of them should read to him each day the 17th chapter of St. John's Gospel, a chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and the 53rd of Isaiah. This was done ; so that few hours or none of the day did pass over, wherein somewhat was not read, according as he would appoint, and oftentimes some sermons of Calvin in French, and the Psalms.

'The Lord Boyd came in unto him and said, "I know, sir, that I have offended you in many things, and am now come to crave your pardon." But what further was betwixt them I know not, for they were alone.

'Wednesday, 19th November.—My Lord of Morton, the Lord Boyd, and the Laird of Drumlanrig came. What purpose was among them, none but themselves knew.

'Thursday, 20th November.—The Lord Lindsay, the Bishop of Caithness, and sundry other gentlemen came in, whom he exhorted to continue in the Truth that they had heard ; for other Word of Salvation there is none. My Lords Ruthven, Glencairn, and divers others, at sundry times, did visit him.

'A gentlewoman, one that feareth God, desired him to praise God for what he had been. He answered, "Tongue, tongue, Lady ! Flesh of itself is over proud, and needs no means to esteem itself !" He then also protested that he did "only clame to (*grasp*) the free mercy of God, showed unto mankind in the blood of His dear Son, Jesus Christ." And so, with exhortation in the fear of God, and in that doctrine which they had heard of him, he bade them Farewell !

'At this time also, these being departed, he says to the Laird of Braid : "Each one bids me Good-night, but when will you do it ? I have been greatly beholden and indebted to you, which I am never able to recompense. I commit you to One who is able to do it, to the Eternal God !"

'Friday, 21st November.—He commanded Richard Bannatyne to cause make his coffin, wherein he was borne to his burial.

'Sunday, 23rd November.—The first Sunday of the Fast, at afternoon, all were at the church, except them that waited upon him. After he had lain a good space very quiet, he thought to have



59. John Knox's Bedroom.

departed, as we judged. Then he burst forth in these words:—
“I have been in meditation these two last nights of the troubled Church of God, the Spouse of Jesus Christ, despised of the world, but precious in His sight! I have been fighting against Satan, yea, I have fought against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things, and have prevailed! I have been in Heaven

and have possession, and I have tasted of those heavenly joys, where presently I am !” Thereafter he said the Lord's Prayer, and The Belief ; and, in saying “ Our Father which art in heaven,” he says, “ Who can pronounce so holy words ! ”

‘ When he would be lying, as we supposed, in a sleep, then was he at his meditation, as his manifold sentences may well declare ; as this, “ Live in Christ ! ” and, “ Lord grant us the right and perfect hatred of sin, as well by the document of Thy mercies as of Thy judgments ! ” “ Lord grant true pastors to Thy Church, that purity of doctrine may be retained ; and restore peace again to this Commonwealth, with godly rulers and magistrates ! ”

‘ **Monday, 24th November.**—Monday, which was the 24th of November, he departed this life to his eternal rest ! He rose about nine hours, and would not lie, and yet he was not able to stand alone. He put on his hose and doublet, and sat in a chair the space of half an hour ; and thereafter to bed. Being asked by Robert Campbell, the goodman of Kinyeancleuch, if he had any pain, he said, “ It is no painful pain, but such a pain as, I trust, shall put end to this battle ! ” Also to the said Robert, “ I leave the care of my wife and children unto you, to whom ye must be a husband in my room.”

‘ A little after noon, he caused his wife read the 15th chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, of the Resurrection ; to whom he said, “ Is not that a comfortable chapter ? ” A little after, “ Now, for the last, I commend my soul, spirit, and body (pointing upon his three fingers) into Thy hands, O Lord ! ” Thereafter, about five hours, to his wife, “ Go, read where I cast my first anchor ! ” And so she read the 17th of John's Evangel.

‘ A night before, Doctor Preston demanded how he did ? Replied : “ I have been tempted by Satan. When he saw that he could not prevail, he tempted me to have trusted in myself, or to have rejoiced or boasted of myself. But I repulsed him

with this sentence, *Quid habes quod non accepisti?*" (What hast thou which thou hast not received?)

'About seven hours at even, we left reading, thinking he had been asleep. He lay still till after ten hours, except that sometimes he would bid wet his mouth with a little weak ale. Half an hour after ten, we went to our ordinary prayers (which was the longer before we went to them, because we thought he had been sleeping). These being ended, Doctor Preston says to him, "Sir, heard you the prayers?" Answered, "I would to God that you and all men heard them as I have heard them. I praise God of that heavenly sound!" Suddenly thereafter he says, "Now, it is come"; for he had given one long sigh and sob. Then Richard Bannatyne, sitting down before him, said, "Now, sir, the time that you have long called to God for, to wit, an end of your battle, is come! And, seeing all natural power now faileth, remember upon these comfortable promises, which oftentimes you have shown to us of Our Saviour Jesus Christ! And, that we may understand and know that you hear us, make us some sign." So he lifted up his one hand, and, incontinent [*immediately*] thereafter, rendered the spirit, and slept away without any pain, about eleven hours at even; which day my Lord Morton was elected Regent.¹

'In this manner departed this man of God, the light of Scotland, the comfort of the Church within the same, the mirror of godliness, and patron and example to all true ministers in purity of life, soundness of doctrine, and boldness in reproving wickedness; and one that cared not for the favour of men, how great soever they were.

'**Wednesday, 26th November.**—Upon the Wednesday after, he

¹ 'Have you hope? they asked Knox in his last moment when he could no longer speak. He lifted his finger, pointed upwards with his finger, and so died. Honour to him! His works have not died. The letter of his work dies, as of all men's; but the spirit of it never.'—Thomas Carlyle, in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*.

was buried, being convoyed with the Regent, the Earl of Morton, and the Lords that were in the town for the time, with many a fearful heart !'

17. KNOX'S FUNERAL.

It was from this house that the funeral procession started on 26th November 1572 for St. Giles Churchyard. Stand-



60. The Regent Morton. Beheaded 1581.

(From a picture in the collection of the Earl of Morton at Dalmahoy.)

ing beside the open grave, the Regent Morton delivered the famous funeral oration which has come down to us in two forms :—

‘When Master Knox was laid in the grave, the Earl of Morton uttered these words :—“*Here lieth a man who in his life never feared the face of man ; who hath been often threatened with dagge [pistol] and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour.*”’—Calderwood’s *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. iii. page 242.

‘The Regent, Earl of Morton, loved Master Knox while he was alive. At his death and burial he gave him an honourable testimony, “*that he neither fearit nor flatterit anie fleche*” ; and, after his death, was friendly to his wife and children.’—*Diary of James Melville*, 1556-1601, p. 47 (edition of 1829).

18. KNOX’S LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT, DATED

13TH MAY 1572.

‘Lord Jesus, I commend my troubled spirit to Thy protection and defence, and Thy troubled Kirk to Thy mercy !

‘Because I have had to do with divers personages of the ministry, whereinto God of His mercy erected me within this Realm, my duty craveth that I shall leave them now a testimony of my mind.

‘First, unto the Papists and to the unthankful world I am compelled to say that (although my life hath been unto them odious, and oftentimes they have sought my destruction and the destruction of the Church which God of His mercy planted within this Realm, and hath always preserved and kept from their cruel enterprise), yet, unless they speedily repent, my departing of this life shall be the greatest calamity that ever yet has apprehended them. A dead man have I been almost, these two years bypast ; and yet I would that they should ripely consider in what better estate they and their matters stand than before. But because they will not admit me for an admonisher, I give them over to the judgment of Him who knoweth the hearts

of all, and will disclose the secrets thereof in due time. Thus far for the Papists.

'To the Faithful—before God, before His Son, Jesus Christ, and before His holy angels—I protest that God, by my mouth, be I never so abject, has shown you His truth in all simplicity. None have I corrupted. None have I defrauded. Merchandise have I not made—to God's glory I write—of the glorious Evangel of Jesus Christ ; but, according to the measure of the grace granted unto me, I have divided the Sermon (*Word*) of Truth in just parts, beating down the rebellion of the proud against God, and raising up the consciences troubled with the knowledge of their sins, by declaring Jesus Christ, the strength of His Death, and the mighty operation of His Resurrection, in the hearts of the Faithful. Of this, I say, I have a testimony this day in my conscience, before God, however the world rage.

'Be constant, therefore, in the doctrine which once publicly ye have professed. Let not these slanderous days draw you away from Jesus Christ ; neither let the prosperity of the Wicked move you to follow it or them. I look not to the momentary prosperity of the Wicked, yea, not although they should remain conquerors to the coming of our Lord Jesus ! But I look to this sentence :—Whosoever sheddeth innocent blood defileth the land, and provoketh God's wrath against himself and the land, until *his* blood be shed by order of law, to satisfy God's anger. This is not the first time that ye have heard this sentence. Although many at all times stirred at such severity, I yet affirm the same, being ready to give account before His Majesty of the stewardship He committed unto me.

'Be ye not troubled above measure, Beloved in the Lord Jesus ! Remain constant in the truth, and He who of His mercy sent me, conducted me, and prospered the work in my hand against Satan, will provide for you abundantly, when either my blood shall water the doctrine taught by me, or He of His mercy otherwise provides to put an end to this my battle.

‘My executors I make, constitute, and ordain Margaret Stewart, my Spouse ; Martha, Margaret, and Elizabeth Knox, my daughters ; and the Faithful to be oversmen.

‘To my two sons, Nathanael and Eleazer Knox, I unfeignedly leave that same benediction which their dearest mother, Marjorie Bowes, left unto them, to wit, that God, for His Son Christ Jesus’ sake, would, of His mercy, make them His true fearers and as upright worshippers of Him as any that ever sprang out of Abraham’s loins. Whereto now, as then, I from my troubled heart say, Amen !

‘Farther, I have delivered, by Master Randolph [the English Ambassador], to Master Robert Bowes, Sheriff of the Bishopric [of Durham], and brother to Marjorie, my late dearest spouse, the sum of £500 of Scots money, to the utility and profit of my sons, which money is that part of substance that fell to them by the decease of Marjorie Bowes, their mother, of blessed memory, and augmented by me as I might spare ; for I received of theirs but a hundred merks [equal to about £66, 13s. 4d. sterling], which I of my poverty extended to £500 Scots [equal to about £100 sterling], and that in satisfaction of their bairns’ part of gear (*legal claims on their father’s estate*), which may fall to them by my decease.

‘Item, I leave to my two sons two silver drinking-cups, the one marked J. K. M. on the one side, and on the other side E. B. N., and in like manner the other with the same mark and letters, the said two cups containing twenty-two ounces weight or thereby ; two saltfats (*salt-cellars*) of silver, and eighteen silver spoons, weighing thirty-four and one quarter ounces, the price of the ounce overhead being 26s. 8d. The which cups, saltfats, and spoons, I leave in keeping to Margaret, my Spouse, until my sons be of the age of twenty-one years ; at which time I ordain her to deliver the same to my sons ; or to any one of them, if by decease the other fails.

‘Item, I leave also to my sons part of my books, of the value

of £30. And failing my sons and their heirs, I ordain the foresaid £500, with the silver cups, spoons, saltfats, and books, to return again, the one equal half to Margaret, my Spouse, and my three daughters, and the other half to my brother, William Knox, and his heirs.

'Item, I leave to my Spouse, Margaret Stewart, the eight hundred merks which are laid upon the lands of Pennymuir, wherein she is infest by Andrew Lord Stewart of Ochiltree, my father-in-law. Failing the said Margaret, I leave the same to my three daughters. Failing them, I leave the same to Andrew



61. Medallion of Knox struck at Geneva.

Lord Stewart of Ochiltree, and his heirs; charging and requiring my father-in-law and his heirs, as they will answer before that incorruptible Judge, the Lord Jesus, that they suffer not my Spouse and children to be defrauded, or evil paid, of the maills (*rents*) and annual rent of the said lands, during the non-redemption of the same. Item, I leave to Paul Knox, my brother's son [Knox's elder brother, William Knox, was minister of Cockpen. William's son, Paul Knox, here mentioned, became minister of Kelso], £100 which lies in wadset upon Robert Campbell's lands in Kinyeancleuch, and that to be a help to hold him at the school.

'As concerning the rest of my whole goods whatsoever, I leave them to be divided between my Spouse and my three daughters.

'And because my Spouse must take care of my daughters,

and faithfully travail for their good nourishment and upbringing, therefore I leave my Spouse the use of their gear, until they be married, or come to perfect age; at which time I ordain that every heir, as the time approaches, shall have their own that to them appertains.

JOHN KNOX.'

JOHN ADAMSON, *Witness*.

ROBERT WATSON, *Witness*.

JOHN JOHNSTON, *Witness*.

19. KNOX'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

'In stature he was slightly under the middle height, of well-knit and graceful figure, with shoulders somewhat broad, longish fingers, head of moderate size, hair black, complexion somewhat dark, and general appearance not displeasing.

'In his stern and severe countenance there was a natural dignity and majesty not without a certain grace, and in anger there was an air of command on his brow. Under a somewhat narrow forehead his brows stood out in a slight ridge over his ruddy and slightly swelling cheeks, so that his eyes seemed to retreat into his head. The colour of his eyes was bluish grey, their glance keen and animated. His face was rather long; his nose of more than ordinary length; the mouth large; the lips full, the upper a little thicker than the lower; his beard black mingled with grey, a span and a half long, and moderately thick.'—*Sir Peter Young (tutor to James VI.) writing in Latin to Theodore Beza from Edinburgh on 13th November 1579.*¹ This letter was recently discovered by Dr. Hume Brown.

¹ With this letter was sent a portrait of Knox, which is probably the picture printed on page 103.

VI

LATER HISTORY OF THE HOUSE

SUBSEQUENT to John Knox's time, the house passed through many vicissitudes. In the course of last century, it seems to have been subdivided among a number of tenants, and little care was taken to keep it in proper repair. Shortly after the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, a movement was set on foot by a large number of people belonging to the Free Church of Scotland to erect a memorial in Edinburgh to John Knox. This was to include the purchase of John Knox's House, and the erection of a Memorial Church on the adjoining ground, in front of which was to be placed a statue of the Reformer.

In 1846 the trustees of the fund which had been raised, with the Marquis of Breadalbane as their Chairman, purchased John Knox's House and some adjoining ground. Ultimately, the project to erect a church and statue as part of the memorial to John Knox fell through, and the ground adjoining the house was sold. In 1853 the Monument Trustees conveyed the house to the Rev. John Jaffray, Foreign Mission Secretary of the Free Church,

and to his wife, and the longest liver. Mr. Jaffray had acted as secretary to the Monument Trustees, and to his enthusiastic labour the movement which resulted in the purchase of the house was mainly due. As a condition of the conveyance, Mr. and Mrs. Jaffray undertook responsibility for the debt on the building, and agreed that the house should be preserved as a public monument. They had no children; and Mrs. Jaffray, who survived her husband, bequeathed the House to the General Trustees of the Free Church, who became vested in it by a conveyance from her testamentary trustees in 1868.

At one time it appeared as if Mr. Jaffray's efforts to preserve the house were to be in vain. In 1840 it had already received serious damage from the fall of Lord Balmerino's house, the next house farther down the High Street. The woodcut on the following page shows the house at that time.

Knox's House became so ruinous that, in 1849, the Dean of Guild Court issued an order for its demolition; the Dean of Guild having also in view the widening of the High Street at that point. The order was never executed. The newspapers opened their columns to indignant correspondents of all denominations. Mr. Adam Black, M.P., presided at a public meeting of citizens, and Mr. Jaffray organised a committee of the most eminent of these citizens. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was roused to battle by Sir Daniel Wilson, their secretary. That learned but cautious body, having obtained reports

as to the age and construction of the house from eminent



62. Knox's House in 1843. (*See pages 31 and 93.*)

architects, stated that they were 'unanimous in their desire

to leave no means unemployed for rescuing the ancient mansion from destruction.' The Citizens' Committee issued a circular saying: 'We confidently appeal to every true-hearted Scotsman to show—in an age when Germany has preserved the lodgings of Goethe and Schiller, when Italy still venerates Dante's house, when England has just rescued from destruction the dwelling of Shakespeare, and when France holds sacred the houses of Corneille and Voltaire—that Scotland regards as no less sacred the memorials of genius, and the debt of gratitude she owes to her great Reformer.'

In the end, the Dean of Guild's order was recalled by the Court of Session in 1850; and in 1853 certain costly, although (as it afterwards turned out) incomplete, repairs were made.

In 1887 a considerable sum was spent on the house by the Free Church for its preservation and to augment its interest and usefulness. An examination by Mr. Hippolyte Blanc, architect, had revealed a dangerous condition of one of the outer walls, as well as of many of the oaken joists. Wall and floors were put in a secure condition by Mr. Blanc, who also effected other important improvements, with the object of restoring the appearance of the house to its original state.

Until recently the house contained, on the first floor, a collection of curiosities, interesting in themselves, but none of them with any actual, and most of them with no

possible, connection with John Knox. These were sent to the New College Museum; and, at the same time, the rooms on the second floor, always identified with Knox's actual residence, were cleared of everything which they could not have contained in Knox's time. The engravings and photographs on their wainscoted walls were removed, and those relating to Knox were hung in the rooms below. This suggested the last improvement—namely, to form on the first floor a collection of portraits, views, and books, and of manuscripts, original, and in facsimile, relating to Knox, to his friends and foes, and to places connected with his birth, life, and death.

VII

CONTENTS OF THE ROOMS SHOWN TO THE PUBLIC

I. FIRST FLOOR.

1. *The Audience Chamber.*—Visitors, on entering the house, are admitted first to this room. The window looking west has been long known as the 'Preaching Window.' It is not probable, however, that Knox ever actually preached from this window. Even after he was struck by apoplexy in 1570, he continued occasionally to preach in St. Giles; and his last sermon was delivered there on 9th November 1572, a fortnight before his death. But Knox may have addressed the people on some occasion from this window, so as to give rise to the tradition. Immediately below the window is the tablet containing the Mosman coat of arms and the initials J.M. and M.A., described on page 39.

From the account given by Calderwood (quoted on page 76) of the attempt to shoot John Knox in 1570, he appears to have been sitting in this room at the west window, or at the corresponding window in the room above, when the shot was fired.

The Audience Chamber contains a library of John Knox's works in their several editions, biographies of Knox, and books written by his contemporaries, specially those with whom, as friends or foes, he was brought into contact. On the walls are hung pictures of the places associated with leading events in his life, and portraits of Knox himself, and of his associates and antagonists. There are also a number of facsimiles, including several of letters and other documents in Knox's handwriting.

Round the cornice have been painted some of Knox's famous sayings such as :—

‘I AM IN THE PLACE WHERE I AM DEMANDED OF MY CONSCIENCE TO SPEAK THE TRUTH. THEREFORE THE TRUTH I SPEAK, IMPUGN IT WHOSO LIST.’

‘CURSED BE THEY THAT SEEK EFFUSION OF BLOOD, WAR, OR DISSENSION! LET US POSSESS CHRIST JESUS, AND THE BENEFIT OF HIS EVANGEL; AND NONE WITHIN SCOTLAND SHALL BE MORE OBEDIENT SUBJECTS THAN WE.’

The chief events in his life, with certain quotations from his works and the writings of his contemporaries, are detailed on a series of tablets hung on the walls. The pictures, portraits, facsimiles, and tablets are titled, so that detailed description is unnecessary.

Notice, in the passage leading from this room along the western wall to the back room, a case containing facsimiles of the coins in use in Scotland in John Knox's time, especially the ‘Bawbee,’ popularly, but erroneously,

said to have been so called from the tender years of the sovereign, James VI., whose bust and name it bears.

2. *Back Room*.—This room has only recently been opened to visitors. Its floor was in so dangerous a condition that the room was shut for forty years.

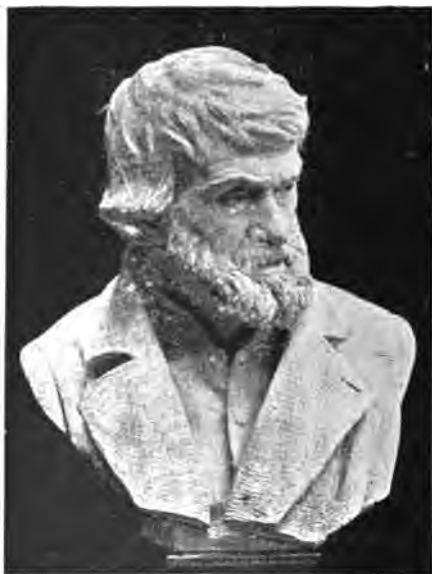


63. Rev. Thomas M'Crie, D.D., Knox's Biographer.

This room also contains pictures, portraits, and facsimiles. In addition, Thomas Carlyle's remarks on Knox in his *Heroes and Hero-Worship* have been framed, and also his *Essay on the Portraits of Knox*, with the able reply thereto by James Drummond, R.S.A. On the right-hand side of the door of entrance is a frame containing facsimiles of the title-pages of Knox's most important works. Among these

will be found the famous *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment* [Government] of Women. (See page 128.)

3. *Front Room*.—This room is formed in the wooden casing of the house, which was probably added after the



64. Thomas Carlyle, Knox's Champion, by Sir E. Boehm, R.A.

completion of the original structure. On its walls will be noticed portraits of Dr. David Laing, the editor of the

standard edition of Knox's works in six volumes; of Thomas Carlyle, Knox's most illustrious champion, as well as in many respects his nineteenth century, as Oliver Cromwell was his seventeenth century, representative; and of Knox's biographers, including Dr. Thomas M'Crie; Dr. Hume Brown, Dr. W. M. Taylor of New York, Mrs. MacCunn, and Mr. Taylor Innes. Among the facsimiles



65. David Laing, LL.D., Editor of Knox's Works,
by Sir George Reid, P.R.S.A.

is the instrument already mentioned (page 3) executed by John Knox as a notary in 1543, which proves (what Knox nowhere states) that he was in priest's orders in the Roman Church. The case on the wall contains a number of books connected with Knox's history. The books are available

for reference on application to the Keeper of the House.

The collection contained in these three rooms is far from complete, and the Trustees hope to be enabled to add to it. They invite donations and loans, and they will be glad to purchase suitable objects. With this view, I shall indicate the articles which the Trustees think necessary for a complete Knox Museum :—

A. BOOKS.

(a) Specimens of the different editions of John Knox's writings, beginning with those published during his lifetime.

(b) Biographies of John Knox, and of those among his contemporaries—Scotch, English, French, German, Swiss, and others—with whom he came in contact, or who are referred to in his writings.

(c) Works bearing on the history of John Knox's time.

(d) Books published and mss. written before or during John Knox's lifetime.

B. PORTRAITS.

(a) Portraits of John Knox, such as the Beza (Latin and French editions), Verheiden, Torphichen, Somerville, Holyrood, and London National Portrait Gallery pictures, copies of which appear in the following pages :—



66. First Known Portrait of Knox (1580). Engraved in *Icones, id est Verae Imagines, Virorum Doctrina simul et Pietate illustrium*, by Theodore Beza, published at Geneva, 1580.¹

¹ The details contained in Sir Peter Young's letter printed on page 91 confirm this portrait and that on page 105, and refute the Somerville portrait (page 107) advocated by Carlyle.



67. Second Known Portrait of Knox (1581). Engraved in the French edition of Beza's 'Icones,' entitled, *Les vrais portraits des hommes illustres en piété et doctrine*. Published at Geneva, 1581. Dr. Laing, however, thought that this was a portrait of William Tyndale, substituted by mistake for that of Knox.



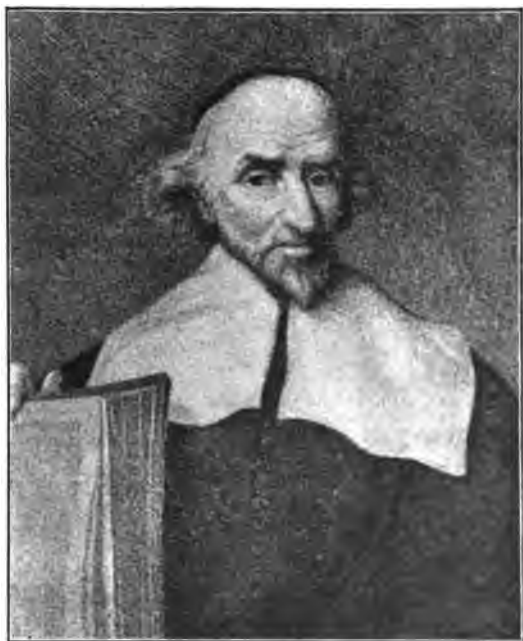
68. Third Known Portrait of Knox (1602). Engraved on copper by Hondius in 'Præstantium aliquot Theologorum Effigies, quibus addita Elogia,' by Jacobus Verheiden, published at the Hague, 1602. This was the portrait used by Sir David Wilkie for his pictures of 'Knox dispensing the Sacrament at Calder House' (*see page 115 and frontispiece*) and 'Knox preaching at St. Andrews to the Lords of the Congregation' (*see page 75*).



69. Portrait of Knox, known as the 'Torphichen Portrait,' the property of Lord Torphichen, at Calder House. It is believed to be an ancient copy of the portrait of Knox contained in Beza's 'Icones.' (See page 103.)

*John Knox's portrait
from the Lord Torphichen*

John Knox



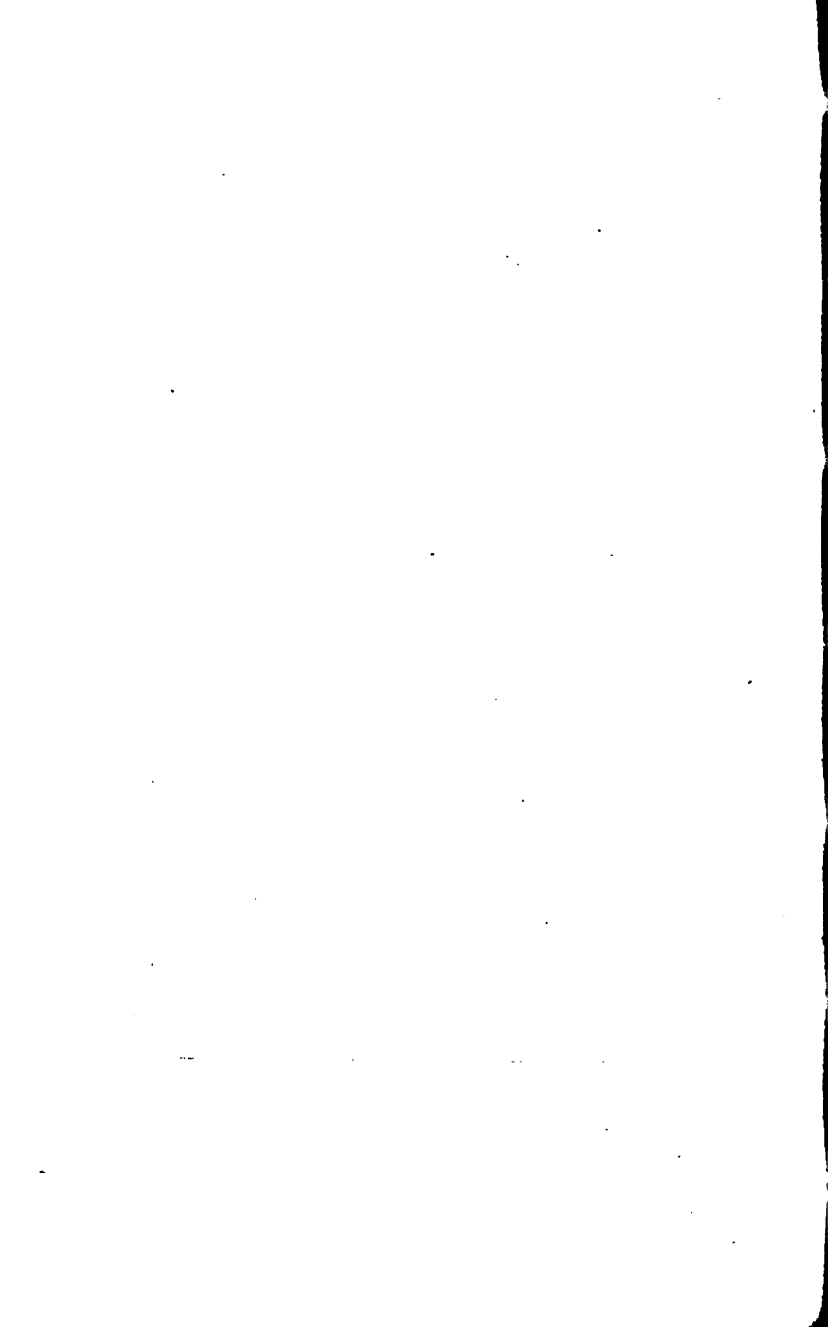
70. Alleged Portrait of Knox, known as the 'Somerville Portrait,' having belonged to Lord Somerville. In his *Essay on the Portraits of John Knox*, Thomas Carlyle maintained that this is the only genuine portrait of Knox. But the collar and other details rather indicate that the picture belongs to the Cromwellian period.



71. Alleged Portrait of Knox, known as the 'Holyrood Portrait.' It hangs in Holyrood Palace. The compasses held in the right hand point to the portrait being that of an architect or mathematician.

James Knox
James Knox







72. Cardinal Beaton. Assassinated at St. Andrews, 1546. 'The Wolsey of Scotland.'
(See Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Book 1.)

(b) Portraits of contemporaries with whom John Knox came in contact, or who are referred to in his writings, *e.g.* :

(1) IN SCOTLAND

James IV.
James V.
Mary of Guise..
Mary, Queen of Scots.
James VI.

Darnley, Bothwell, the Regents
Arran (Duke of Chatelher-
ault), Moray, Lennox, Mar,
and Morton.

Earls of Angus, Argyll, Arran,
Atholl, Caithness, Cassillis,
Crawford, Eglington, Errol,

Fleming, Glamis, Gray,
Herries, Home, Lindsay,
Methven, Ochiltree, Ogilvy,



73. Bishop Leslie.

'My most pious, able, and devoted servant.'—*Mary, Queen of Scots.*
(See Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Books I. and III.)

Glencairn, Huntly, Mari-
schall, Menteith, Montrose,
Roths, and Sutherland.
Lords Borthwick, Boyd, Cath-
cart, Drummond, Erskine,

Oliphant, Ruthven, Sempill,
Seton, Somerville.
George Wishart.
George Buchanan.
John Carswell, Superinten-

dent for Argyll and the Isles.	Sir John Wishart of Pittar-row.
John Erskine of Dun, Superintendent for Angus and Mearns.	Henry Balnaves of Halhill.
John Spottiswood, Superintendent for Lothian.	Patrick Home of Polwarth.
John Willock, Superintendent for Glasgow.	William Maitland of Lethington.
John Wynram, Superintendent for Fife.	John Spens of Condie.
John Craig, John Douglas, Paul Methven, Robert Pont, John Rough, John Row.	Cardinal Beaton.
Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich (Clerk Register).	The Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow.
Sir John Bellenden (Justice-Clerk).	The Bishops of Aberdeen, Brechin, Caithness, Dunblane, Dunkeld, Galloway, Moray, Orkney, and Ross.
Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange.	The Abbots or Priors of Cambuskenneth, Coldingham, Crossraguel, Culross, Dunfermline, Holyrood House, Kilwinning, Kinloss, Lindores, Paisley.
Sir David Lyndesay of the Mount. ¹	David Rizzio.
Sir James Sandilands of Calder, Preceptor in Scotland of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.	Sir James Crofts.
	Sir Henry Kylligrew, and Thomas Randolph, Ambassadors from the Court of England.

(2) IN ENGLAND

Henry VIII.	The Protector Somerset.
Edward VI.	Dukes of Norfolk and Northumberland.
Queen Mary Tudor.	Earls of Bedford, Leicester,
Queen Elizabeth.	

¹ Sir David was both a poet and a musician. The first words which James V. (Mary's father) lisped in infancy were the royal command, 'Pay, Day Lyn' ('Play, Davy Lyndesay!')

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Northampton, Shrewsbury, and Warwick.	Dean Whittingham of Durham.
Archbishop Cranmer.	John Foxe.
Bishops Bonner, Gardiner, and Tonstall (<i>Roman Catholic</i>).	Christopher Goodman, B.D., Oxford.
Bishops Aylmer, Bale, Cover-	Thomas Lever, M.A., Cam- bridge.



74. John Foxe, the English Martyrologist, a correspondent of John Knox.

dale, Goodrick, Grindall, Hooper, Jewel, Latimer, and Ridley (<i>Protestant</i>).	Sir William Cecil (Lord Burghley).
Dean Sampson of Chichester.	Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.

(3) IN FRANCE

Francis II.
Duke of Guise.
Cardinal of Lorraine.

Duke d'Aumale.
Marquis d'Elbœuf.
Admiral Coligny.



75. John Calvin.

(From a contemporary print, lent by Rev. W. J. Jones, Quimper, France.)

(4) IN SWITZERLAND

John Calvin.
Philip Melancthon.

Theodore Beza.
Bullinger.

C. VIEWS OF PLACES CONNECTED WITH JOHN KNOX

(a) IN SCOTLAND.—*Haddington*, where Knox was born—either at the Giffordgate of the town, or in the neighbouring village of Gifford, or in the district of Gifford; *Glasgow*, where he attended college; *St. Andrews*, where he is said to have taught philosophy; *Aberdeen*, *Anstruther*, *Ayr*, *Brechin*, *Crail*, *Dumfries*, *Dundee*, *Edinburgh*, *Glasgow*, *Jedburgh*, *Kelso*, *Montrose*, *Perth*, *St. Andrews*, *Siriling*, etc.,



76. St. John's Church, Perth.

where he preached; the mansion-houses of *Bar*, *Calderhouse*, *Carnell*, *Castle Campbell*, *Dun*, *Finlaystone*, *Gadgirth*, *Kinyeandleuch*, *Ochiltree*, *Ormiston*, etc., in which he preached; and *Lochleven Castle*, where he had an interview on two successive days with Queen Mary.

(b) IN ENGLAND.—*Berwick*, and *Newcastle*, where Knox



77. 'Knox dispensing the Sacrament at Calder House, 1556,' (From the unfinished sketch by Sir David Wilkie, R.A., in the National Gallery of Scotland.)

preached under the sanction of Archbishop Cranmer and the Protector Somerset ; *London*, where he was one of the chaplains to Edward vi., and was offered and declined the living of All Hallows, and assisted in the revision both of the Articles and of the Prayer-Book of the Church of



78. Castle Campbell, near Dollar, where John Knox preached in 1556.

England ; *Rochester*, of which he was offered the Bishopric, at the suggestion of the Duke of Northumberland ; *Buckinghamshire*, *Kent*, etc., in which Knox preached before his flight to the Continent from the Marian persecution.

(c) IN FRANCE.—*Rouen*, *Fécamp*, *Nantes*, and *La Rochelle*, where during nineteen months Knox was a prisoner in the

French galleys, half naked and chained to the oar ; *Dieppe*, where, during exile, Knox preached in French, with as great power as in English.

(d) IN GERMANY.—*Frankfort-on-Main*, where, during exile, Knox acted as one of the ministers of the English



79. Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, the Translator of the Bible.
godfather to John Knox's second son, born at Geneva.

congregation, the other minister being Thomas Lever, M.A., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge.

(c) IN SWITZERLAND.—*Geneva*, where, during exile, Knox acted as one of the ministers of the English colony of two hundred and twelve souls, numbering among them some of the most eminent scholars in the Church of England, such as Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, William Whittingham, Dean of Durham, and Thomas Sampson, Dean of Chichester.

D. OBJECTS OF INTEREST

(a) Letters, original, and in facsimile, written by or to John Knox, such as the facsimile letter from Knox to Queen Elizabeth, of part of which a reduced facsimile is given on next page.¹

¹ In modernised spelling, this letter runs as follows :—

'Grace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, with perpetual increase of His Holy Spirit.

'May it please Your Majesty that it is here certainly spoken that the Queen of Scotland [Queen Mary] travailleth earnestly to have a treatise entitled "The First Blast of the Trumpet" confuted by the censure of the learned in divers realms, and farther that she laboureth to inflame the hearts of Princes against the writer. And because that it may appear that Your Majesty hath interest, that she mindeth to travaill with Your Grace, Your Grace's [Privy] Council, and learned men for judgment against such a common enemy to women and to their regiment (*rule*). It were but foolishness to me to prescribe unto Your Majesty what is to be done in anything, but especially in such things as men suppose do touch myself. But of one thing I think myself assured; and therefore I dare not conceal it. To wit, that neither doth Our Sovereign so greatly fear her own estate by reason of that book, neither yet doth she so unfeignedly favour the tranquillity of Your Majesty's reign and realm, that she would take so great and earnest pains, unless that her crafty counsel in so doing shot at a farther mark. Two years ago I wrote unto Your Majesty my full declaration touching that work. Experience since hath shown that I am not desirous of innovations, so that Christ Jesus be not in His Members openly trodden under the feet of the ungodly. With further purgation I will not trouble Your Majesty for the present,' etc.

Dear friend and his father through Lord
Jesus Christ Amen. I am sure of you
God. Amen

[illegible]

120 Contents of the Rooms Shown to the Public

(b) Articles belonging to John Knox.

(c) Original letters, journals, etc., illustrating the time in which John Knox lived.

(d) Miscellaneous articles, such as furniture, tapestry, weapons, armour, coins, etc., in use in or about the time of John Knox.



81. Cain and Abel.

(From the ancient panel picture in John Knox's Dining-Room.)

II. SECOND FLOOR.

1. *John Knox's Bedroom*.—Here Knox died on 24th November 1572. We have already quoted on page 85 his

Secretary's account of the scene. The panelling of this room is modern. Certain dates of interest in connection with John Knox's family history have been inscribed above the fireplace, and at the side of the window is a characteristic passage from one of his sermons. A piece of the original ceiling of the dining-room, which was destroyed by fire, hangs in the passage leading from this room along the western wall to the dining-room. Higher up the wall of the same passage is the wooden pulpit and canopy, which for many years surrounded the figure of Moses at the south-western angle of the house.

2. *John Knox's Dining-room.*—The panel pictures and portions of the panelling are ancient. The whole wood-work was at one time covered with paint and whitewash. At one of the windows is a painting of a country scene, with a sheet of water in the foreground in which swans are swimming. Opposite the fireplace, there is a quaint representation of the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, and Abel's murder. At the top of the latter is the inscription, 'Cain et Abel oferentes.' (See page 120.)

Notice the original edition of one of Knox's books hanging in a frame, and the copy of Knox's figure taken by a Swedish artist from Sir David Wilkie's unfinished picture of 'Knox dispensing the Sacrament in Calder House,' now in the Scottish National Gallery. (See the *Frontispiece*.)

3. *John Knox's Study.*—This room, like the 'Front Room' below, has been formed in the wooden casing of the

house. It contains a fireplace, lined with old Dutch tiles, and a recess which might have been a cupboard or a library, besides two small windows.

The Minute of Town Council referring to the construction of a 'warm study of deals' for John Knox has been already quoted (page 45). The chair in this room belonged to John Knox, and was presented to the house by the Rev. Thomas M'Crie, D.D., son of the biographer of Knox.

VIII

TESTIMONIES OF WRITERS, MOSTLY ENGLISH AND CONTEMPORARY, TO KNOX'S CHARACTER AND WORK

‘WHAT I have been to my country, although this unthankful age will not know, yet ages to come will be compelled to bear witness to the truth.’—JOHN KNOX (Works, vi. 596).



82. Knox's Pulpit—in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh.

‘I assure you the voice of this one man, John Knox, is able Randolph, the in one hour to put more life in us than five English Am- hundred trumpets continually blustering in our bassador, 1561 ears.’—*Thomas Randolph, the English Ambassador, in a letter to Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burghley), Queen Elizabeth's Chief Secretary of State, 1561.*

‘John Knox thundereth out of the pulpit. He ruleth the roost, and of him all men stand in fear.’—*The Same* same to Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, English Ambassador at Paris, 1561.



83. Bishop Ridley, burned at the stake, 1555. A friend of Knox, when Knox was one of Edward Sixth's Chaplains.

‘Alas that our brother Knox could not bear with our Book of Ridley, Bishop Common Prayer! Matters against which, al- of London, 1555 though, I grant, a man, as he is, of wit and learning, may find to make apparent reasons, but I suppose

he cannot be able soundly to disprove by God's Word. . . . Surely Master Knox is, in my mind, a man of much good learning and of an earnest zeal.'—*Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, writing to Dr. Edmund Grindall (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), 1555.*

'A runagate Scot [John Knox] did take away the adoration
Weston, Prolocutor of University of Oxford, 1554 or worshipping of Christ in the Sacrament; by whose procurement that heresy [the Declaration on Kneeling at the end of the Communion Service in the Book of Common Prayer] was put into the last Communion Book. So much prevailed that one man's authority at that time!'—*Dr. Weston, Prolocutor, University of Oxford, in dispute with Bishop Latimer at Oxford, 1554.*

Some disputes have arisen within these few days among
John Utenhovi-
 hovius, a Flemish
 Gentleman
 resident in
 London, 1552 the Bishops in consequence of a sermon by a pious preacher [John Knox], chaplain to the Duke of Northumberland, preached by him before the King and Council, in which he inveighed with great freedom against kneeling at the Lord's Supper, which is still retained here in England. This good man, however, a Scotsman by nation, has so wrought upon the minds of many, that we may hope some good to the Church will at length arise from it, which I earnestly implore the Lord to grant.'—*John Utenhovi-
 hovius writing to Henry Bullinger, in Latin, from London, 12th October 1552.*

'I have that opinion of John Knox's honesty and godliness
Aylmer, Bishop of London, 1559 that he will not disdain to hear better reasons, nor be loth to be taught in anything he misseeth.'—*John Aylmer, Bishop of London, in answer to Knox's First Blast against the Monstrous Regiment [Government] of Women.*

'You, my most affectionate brother Knox, both England and Germany, but especially our brotherly agreement
 Bale, Bishop of in the doctrine of Christ Our Lord, have bound
 Ossory, 1558 to me. For there is no one who does not praise, admire, and welcome your faith, constancy, and patience, proved as they are by so many troubles, so great persecution, and long and grievous exile.'—*John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, writing to John Knox, 1558.*

'John Knox was a learned, wise, grave, and godly man.'—
 Whittingham, William Whittingham, Dean of Durham, god-
 Dean of father to John Knox's eldest son, Nathanael.
 Durham

'The notable and comfortable exposition of Master John
 John Field, Knox upon the Fourth of Matthew is a seal of his
 a leader godly and wonderful labours, carrying in the
 among the forehead thereof what an heroical and bold spirit
 Elizabethan he was, how faithfully and constantly he stood for
 Puritans, the glorious truth of Jesus Christ; and how
 1583 mightily, in the end, after many and tedious troubles, per-
 secutions, and calamities, God gave him yet a victory, so that
 he prevailed against all those bulls of Bashan.'—*John Field, 1583.*

'Knox was a man endowed with rare gifts, and a chief
 instrument that God used for the work of these
 Spottiswood, times.'—*John Spottiswood (1565-1639), Arch-
 Archbishop of bishop of St. Andrews and Lord Chancellor
 St. Andrews of Scotland.*

'Illa astuta vulpecula Joannes Cnoxius Scotus!!' (That
 Peter Victor crafty little fox, John Knox of Scotland!!)
 Cajetan Palma, —*Peter Victor Cajetan Palma, a Jesuit Priest.*
 1595

'Knox, the Reformer of a kingdom. . . . That great man.'—
 John Milton *John Milton in the 'Areopagitica, a Plea for the
 Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.'*

'We have been afflicted beyond belief by the death of Master
 Theodore Knox; for the death of good men always appears
 Beza, Geneva, premature.' (*Quod bonorum virorum immaturus*
 1573 *semper obitus videatur.*)—*Theodore Beza writing*
to Andrew Melville, 1573.

'Nescio an unquam Deus magis pium aut majus ingenium
 Thomas in fragili et imbecillo corpore collocavit.' (I know
 Smeton, 1579 not if God ever lodged greater piety or a more
 noble genius in a frail and feeble body.)—*Thomas Smeton,*
Principal of the University of Glasgow, in his 'Joannis Knoxii
Vera extremæ vitæ et obitus Historia,' 1579.

'Knox was a galley slave. The master of the galley was glad
 Dr. Fulke, to be rid of him; because he never had good
 1580 success so long as he kept that holy man in
 slavery, whom also, when in danger of tempest, he, though an
 arrant Papist, would desire to commend him and his galley to
 God in his prayers.'—*T. Stapleton and Martiall, two Popish*
heretics, confuted by William Fulke, D.D., Master of Pembroke
Hall, Cambridge, 1580.

'During the pastor Delaporte's absence, the elders of the
 David Asseline, *presche* of Dieppe continued their prayers and
 Roman Catho- public reading of the Scripture there, each in his
 lic Priest own quarter and in secret. But the minister,
 John Knox, a Scotsman by nation, and a great enemy of the
 Catholic Church, from which he had apostatised, arrived in
 this town on the 19th of February 1559, according to our
 reckoning. This man, who was audacious and learned, and
 (as Florimonde de Raimond, liv. 6, chap. xvi., says) factious,
 and so eloquent that he managed men's souls as he wished,
 having preached at Dieppe during six or seven weeks, made
 such great progress and increased the number of the perverts
 so greatly that they had the hardihood to go to sermon in full
 day!'—*Les Antiquitez et Chroniques de la Ville de Dieppe,*
par David Asseline, prêtre, i. 283.

IX

KNOX'S EXTANT WRITINGS

1. *History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, in five books.
2. *Admonitory Writings*, including his public letters to Scotland, *e.g.* (1) A Letter of Wholesome Counsel, addressed



84. Title-page of Knox's 'First Blast. The extravagant views expressed in this treatise were largely the result of the persecution of Protestants by the four Queens of Scotland, England, and France, whose pictures are given on the following pages.

to his Brethren in Scotland, 1556, and (2) Letters to his Brethren and the Lords professing the Truth in Scotland, 1557; also his public letters to England, *e.g.* (1) A Faith-

ful Admonition to the Professors of God's Truth in England, 1554, (2) Two Comfortable Epistles to his Afflicted Brethren in England, 1554, (3) A Godly Letter of Warning, or Admonition to the Faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick, 1554, (4) An Epistle to the Inhabitants of Newcastle and Berwick, 1558, and (5) A Brief Exhortation to England for the Speedy embracing of the Gospel, 1559;



85. Mary of Guise, Queen Regent of Scotland, mother of Mary, Queen of Scots (from the picture in the National Portrait Gallery, London, formerly thought to be a portrait of her daughter).

also his public letters to the Queen Regent of Scotland in 1556 and 1558; also his Appellation from the Sentence pronounced by the Bishops and Clergy, addressed to the Nobility and Estates of Scotland, 1558; his First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,

1558; and his Reasoning with the Abbot of Crossraguel, 1562.

3. *Devotional Writings*, consisting of Expositions of different parts of Scripture; and Sermons. Also his Discourse at Durham before the Council of the North, including Dr. Tonstall, Roman Catholic Bishop of Durham,



86. Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, by François Clouet.

entitled, *A Vindication of the Doctrine that the Sacrifice of the Mass is Idolatry*, 1550; *A Treatise on Fasting*, 1566; *The Form of Excommunication*, 1569; *A Treatise on Predestination in Answer to the Cavillations by an Anabaptist*, 1560; and *An Answer to a Letter written by James Tyrie, Scottish Jesuit*, 1572.

4. *Private Letters*, including letters to Queen Elizabeth, 1559 and 1561, Sir William Cecil, Thomas Randolph, the Earl of Leicester, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Sir Henry Percy, Sir James Crofts, the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earl of Argyll, the Earl of Moray, Sir William Douglas of Lochleven, John Foxe, John Calvin, Mrs. Knox (Marjorie Bowes), Mrs. Bowes, Mrs. Anna Lock, Mrs. Guthrie.

Knox's whole writings are contained in *The Works of John Knox*, collected and edited in six volumes by David Laing, LL.D.



87. Mary Tudor, Queen of England ('The Bloody Mary'), by Holbein.

See also:—

- (1) *Select Practical Writings of John Knox*. Issued by the Free Church of Scotland, 1845.

-
- (2) The English Scholars' Library, Reprint by Edward Arber, F.S.A., of John Knox's 'First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,' 1878.
- (3) John Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, edited for popular use by Charles J. Guthrie, K.C. A. & C. Black, London, 1898.



88. Catharine de' Medici, Queen of France, Instigator of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572, by François Clouet.

X

BOOKS REFERRING TO KNOX AND TO KNOX'S HOUSE

I. BIOGRAPHIES OF JOHN KNOX, by

- (1) Rev. Thomas M'Crie, D.D., 1811.
- (2) P. Hume Brown, LL.D., 1895.
- (3) Rev. W. M. Taylor, D.D., New York, 1884.
- (4) Mrs. Florence A. MacCunn ('Leaders of Religion' Series), 1895.
- (5) A. Taylor Innes, Advocate ('Famous Scots' Series), 1896.
- (6) Brandes, Elberfeld, 1862.
- (7) Rev. Professor J. Stalker, D.D.

2. MISCELLANEOUS.

- (1) *History of England*, vols. v. and vi.; and *The Influence of the Reformation on the Scottish Character*, by J. A. Froude.
- (2) *History of Scotland*, vols. iii. and iv., by John Hill Burton.
- (3) *History of Scotland*, vols. vi. and vii., by Patrick Fraser Tytler.

- (4) *Memorials of Transactions in Scotland, 1569-1573*, by Richard Bannatyne, Secretary to John Knox.
- (5) *Heroes and Hero-Worship* ; and *Essay on the Portraits of John Knox*, by Thomas Carlyle.
- (6) *John Knox and his Relations to Women*, in *Familiar Studies of Men and Books*, by R. L. Stevenson.
- (7) *John Knox and the Church of England*, by Rev. Professor Lorimer, D.D., 1875.
- (8) *John Knox*, by Æneas Mackay, LL.D., in *Dictionary of National Biography*.
- (9) *The Last Days of John Knox*, by Rev. Professor Mitchell, D.D., in *Catholic Presbyterian*, vol. vi. page 265.
- (10) *John Knox's Manse*, in *Traditions of Edinburgh*, by Robert Chambers.
- (11) *John Knox and his Manse*, by Peter Miller, F.S.A. Scot. ; *John Knox's House, Netherbow, Edinburgh*, by Sir Daniel Wilson, LL.D. ; and *Is John Knox's House entitled to the Name ?* by Charles J. Guthrie, Q.C., F.S.A. Scot., in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1890-91, third series, volume i.
- (12) *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, by Messrs. Macgibbon and Ross, vol. iv. p. 424.
- (13) *Royal Edinburgh*, by Mrs. Oliphant.

- (14) *Old and New Edinburgh*, by James Grant. Vol. i.
- (15) *Memorials of Edinburgh*, by Sir Daniel Wilson, LL.D.
- (16) *St. Giles*, by the Very Rev. J. Cameron Lees, D.D., LL.D.
- (17) *Bothwell, a Tragedy*, by Algernon C. Swinburne.
- (18) *The Queen's Quair*, by Maurice Hewlett.



89. Stone marking Knox's Grave, to the south of St. Giles Church.

'LET THE SOUND OF THOSE HE WROUGHT FOR,
LET THE FEET OF THOSE HE FOUGHT FOR,
ECHO ROUND HIS BONES FOR EVERMORE!'

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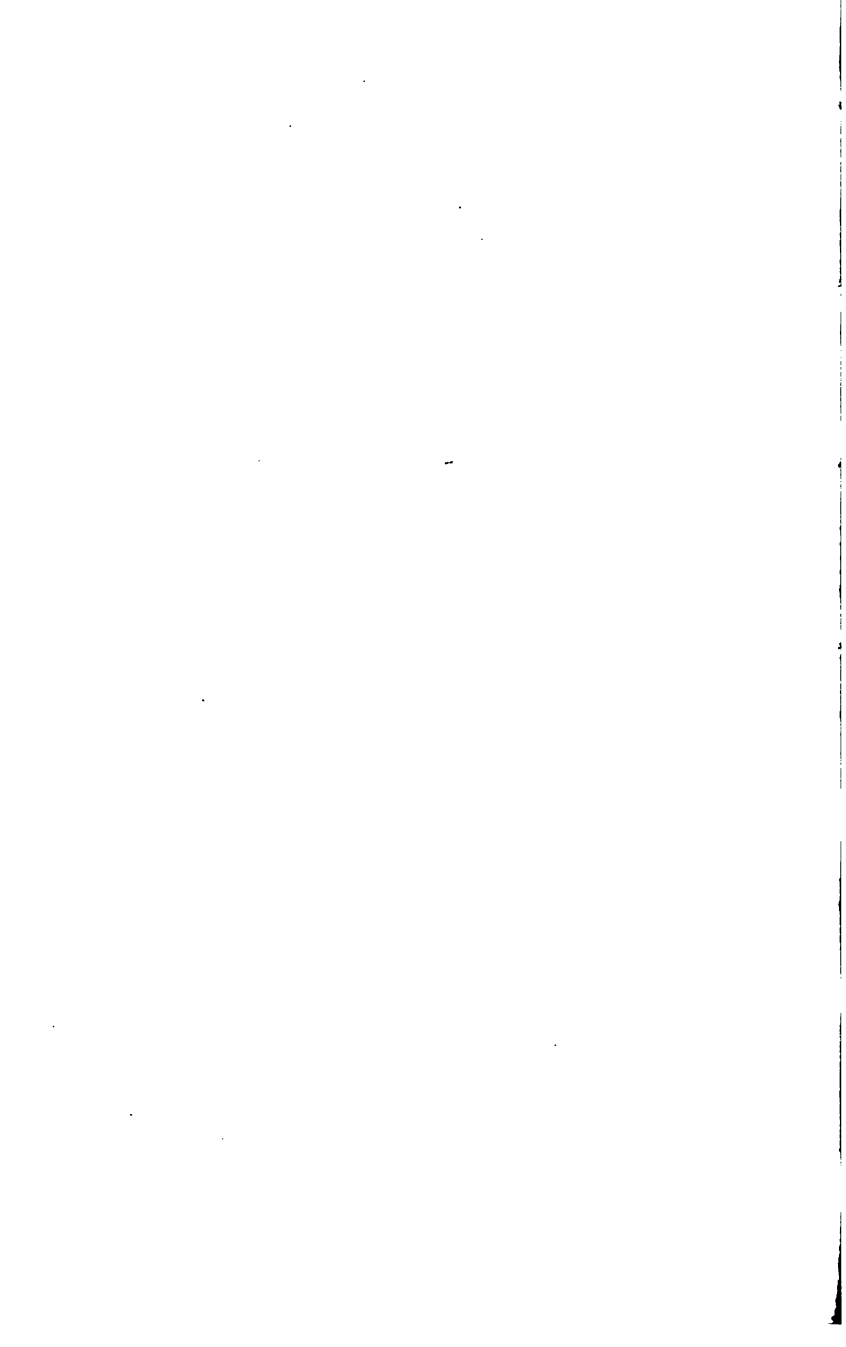
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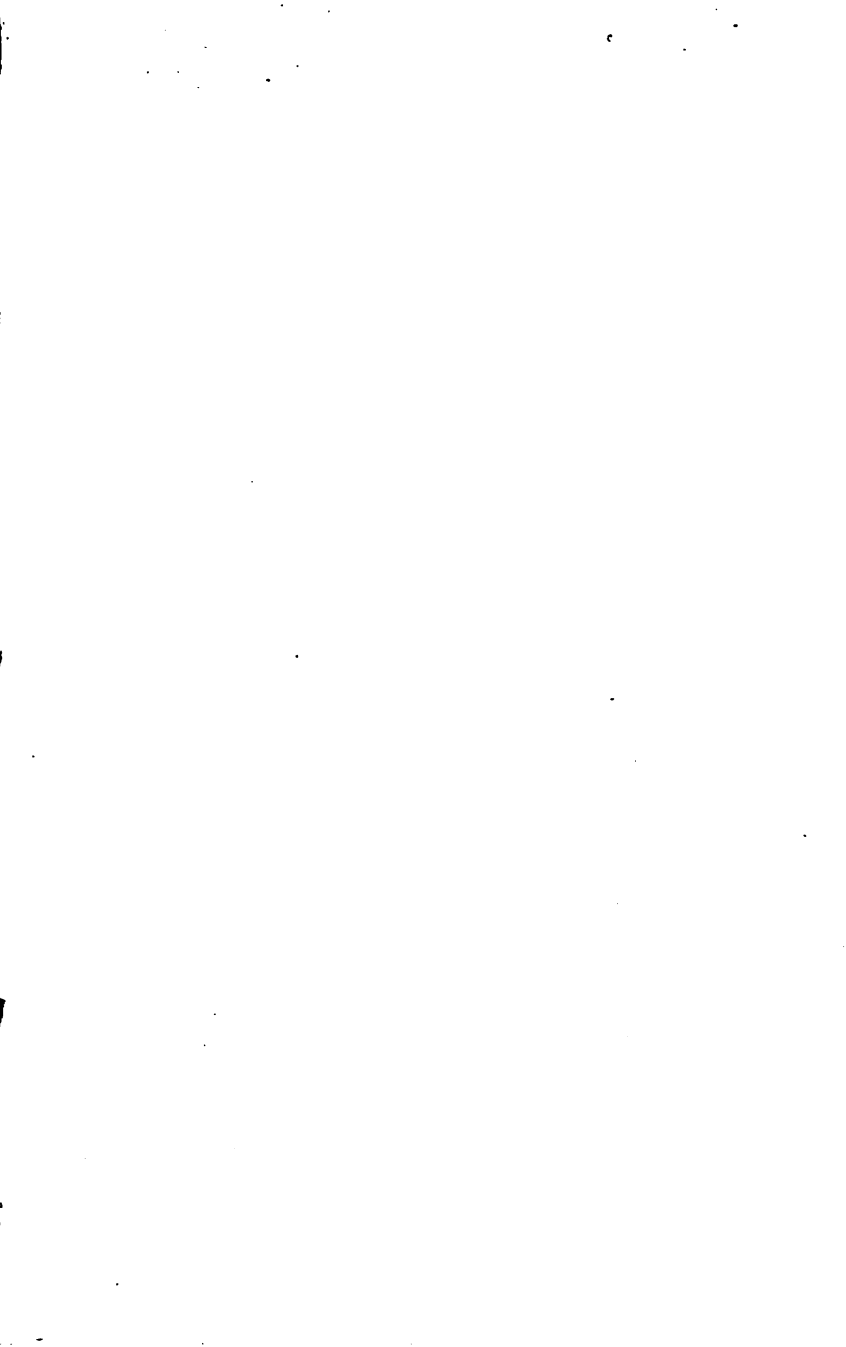
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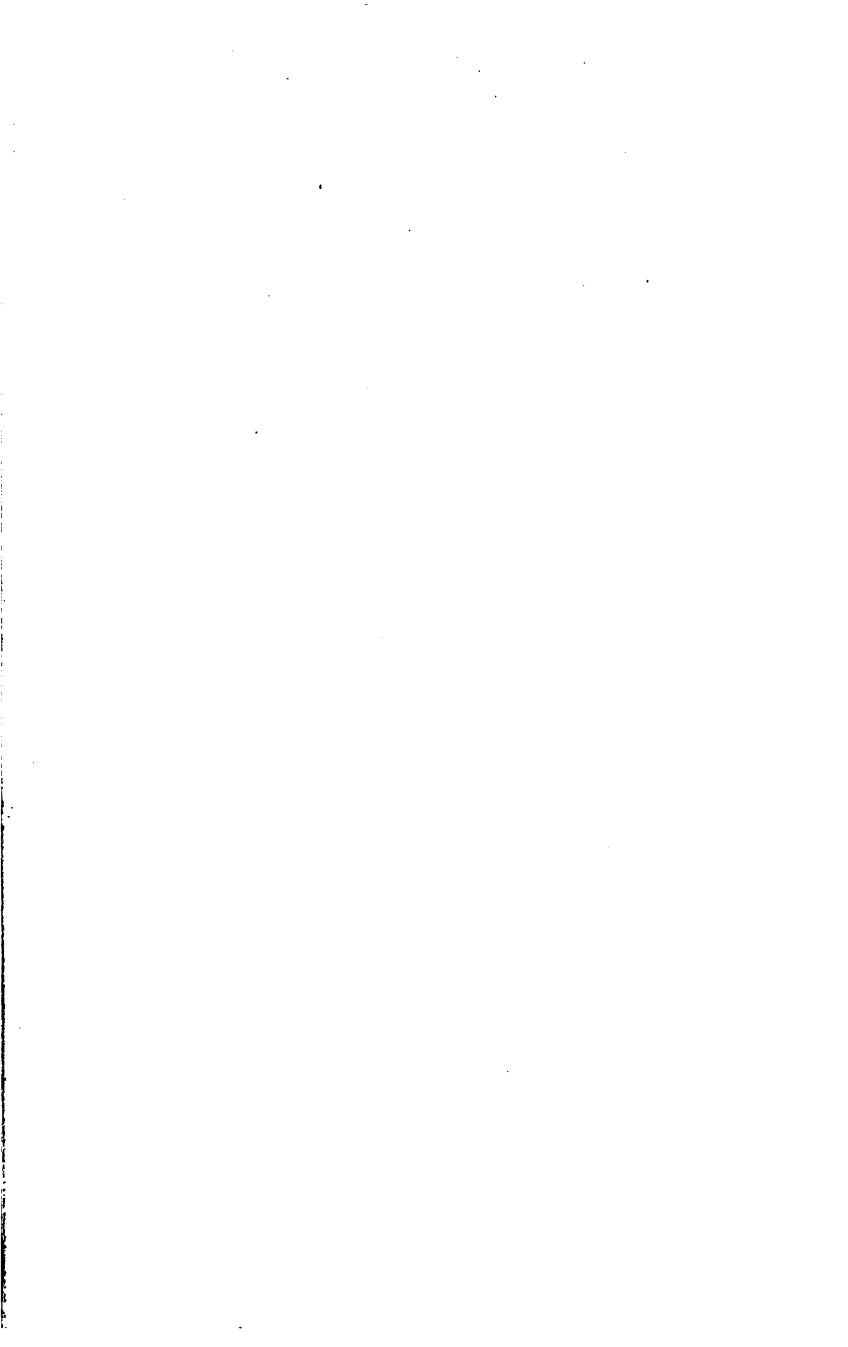
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